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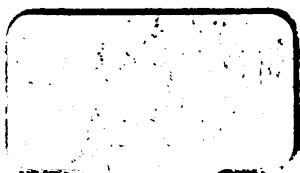
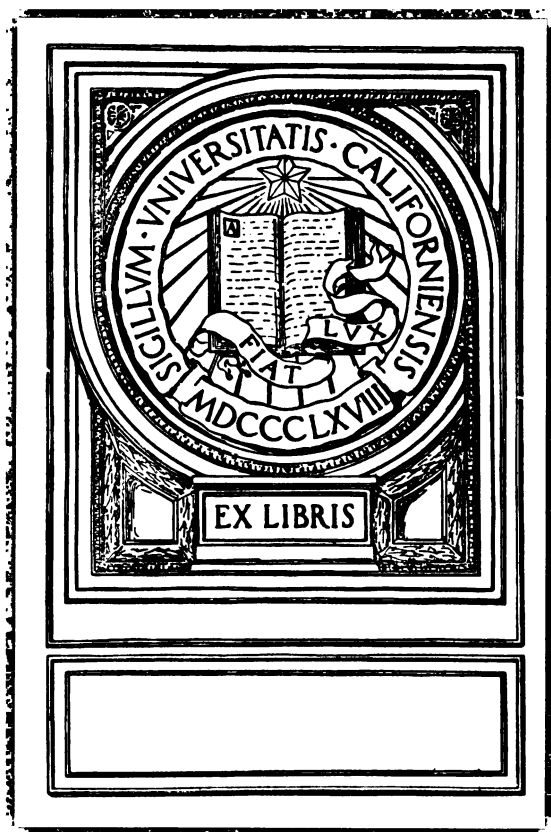
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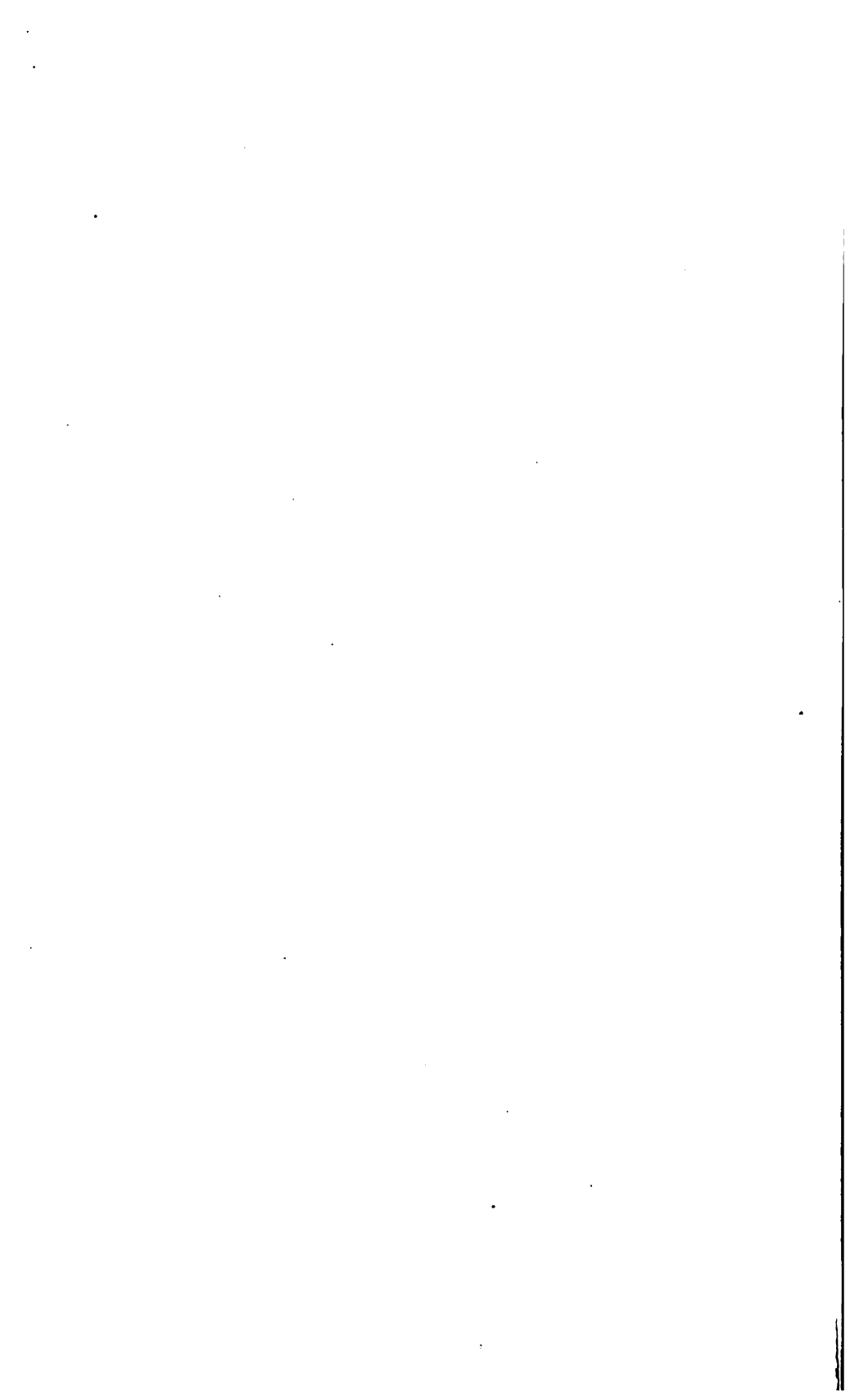
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HISTORY
OF
THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE
OF THE
FAR WEST



UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

THE

American Fur Trade

OF THE

Far West.

A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early
Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and
the Rocky Mountains and of
the Overland Commerce
with Santa Fe.

MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HIRAM MARTIN CHITTENDEN

Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Author of
"The Yellowstone."

THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III.

NEW YORK

FRANCIS P. HARPER

1902

TO VNU
ALBANY

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U45C5
V.3
C6P.2

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APPENDICES.

A.

COPY OF LETTER FROM PIERRE MENARD TO PIERRE CHOUTEAU.

An account of the first attack by the Blackfeet upon the Missouri Fur Company at the Three Forks of the Missouri in the summer of 1810.

Below are given in the original and corrected French and in English translation copies of a letter found among the Chouteau papers. It is probably the only document in existence that was written upon the identical spot where the old fort of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company stood at the Three Forks of the Missouri. It narrates an important event in the series of disasters which overtook the company in that quarter, and is a genuine messenger from that forlorn band under Henry who later, when driven from this position, crossed the Divide and built the first trading establishment upon Columbian waters. The original of this letter, in four pages, written upon a sheet of fine light blue paper, full letter size, and still in excellent preservation, is in the possession of Mr. Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis. The names in brackets marked * are as printed in the *Louisiana Gazette* of July 26, 1810, from an interview with Menard.

trois fourches du Missourie 21 Avrill 1810
Trois Fourches du Missouri, 21 Avril, 1810.

Monsieur }
Monsieur }
Pierre Chouteau eqr }
Pierre Chouteau eqr. }

Monsieur et beau freré
Monsieur et beau-frère

Je matandais Pourvoire vous Ecrire Plus favorable que
Je m'attendais pouvoir vous écrire plus favorablement que

Je ne suis Ameme de le faire a present Les prospect de vent
 je ne suis à même de le faire à présent. Les prospects devant
 nos yeux il lla dix Jours etait Beaucoup Plus flatteurs quil le
 nos yeux il y a dix jours étaient beaucoup plus flatteurs qu'ils ne
 sont aujourd'hui un party de nos Chasseurs on Etez de fait Par
 sont aujourd'hui. Une partie de nos chasseurs a été défaite par
 les pied noirs le 12 du present il lla heus Deux homme De tuez
 les Pieds-noirs le 12 du présent. Il y a eu deux hommes de tués,
 tous leurs castors pilliez et Beaucoup de pieges De perdues et
 tous leurs castors pillés, et beaucoup de pièges de perdus, et
 lamoniton de plusieurs de nos Chasseurs et 7 de nos Chevaux
 l'amonition de plusieurs de nos chasseurs, et 7 de nos chevaux.
 Nous avons Etez aleure poursuite maist malheureusement nous
 Nous avons été à leur poursuite, mais malheureusement nous
 navont pas pux les rejoindre Nous avon ramasse 44 piege et
 n'avons pas pu les rejoindre. Nous avons ramassé 44 pièges et
 3 cheveau que nous avons Ramene icy et nous Esperont trouvez En-
 3 chevaux que nous avons ramenés ici, et nous esperons trouver en-
 core quelque piege Set malheureuse affaire a toute afet
 core quelques pièges. Cette malheureuse affaire a tout à fait
 Decouragez Nos Chasseurs Il ne veuille plus aller a la chasse
 découragé nos chasseurs. Ils ne veulent plus aller à la chasse
 icy il en partira se pendent de mains 30 qui son tous de gens
 ici. Ils en partiront cependant demain 30, qui sont tous de gens
 a gage les 14 Lous et 16 Fransais il vont allandroit ou les
 à gage, les 14 loués et 16 Français. Ils vont à l'endroit où les
 autres on Etez De fait Je ne leur donne que 3 pieges Chaque ne
 autres ont été défaits. Je ne leur donne que 3 pièges chacun, ne
 croient point prudent Dans risque d'avantage et surtout lorsque
 croyant point prudent d'en , risquer davantage, et surtout lorsqu'
 il ne doive point Se Se pare et La moitier devient toujours
 ils ne doivent point se séparer, et la moitié doivent toujours
 Etres au campement. Le parti qui a etez de faite Consistait Au
 être au campement. La partie qui a été défaite consistait en
 onze personne et les trois quare Etait a lez tendre Leurs
 onze personnes, et les trois quarts étaient allés tendre leurs
 piege Lorsque les Sauvages on fonce au campement Le deux per-
 pièges lorsque les sauvages enfonçaient le campement. Les deux per-

son tuez Son James Chique [Cheeks*] et un nomez haire [Ayles*]
sonnes tués sont James Chique [Cheeks] et un nommé Haire [Ayles],

Angage de Mes Crou [Crooks] et McLanell [McLellan] que Mess
engagés de Messrs Crou [Crooks] et McLanell [McLellan] que Messrs

Silvestre [Chouteau] & Auguste [Chouteau] avait équipé Pour chasse
Silvestre [Chouteau] & Auguste [Chouteau] avaient équipés pour chasser

de Moitié il manque autres ses deux Le Jeune Hulle [Hull*] qui
de moitié. Il manque, outre ces deux, le jeune Hulle [Hull] qui

était du même camp et flyharte [Freeheart*] et son homme qui Etait
était du même camp, et flyharte [Freeheart] et son homme qui étaient

campez Environ 2 mill Plus haut Nous avons trouvez 4 des piege
campés environ 2 milles plus haut. Nous avons trouvé 4 des pièges

de se derniers et La place ou les Sauvages les on poursuiue mait
de ces derniers et la place où les sauvages les ont poursuivis, mais

nous navont point trouvez la place ou il on Etez tuez Dans le
nous n'avons point trouvé la place où ils ont été tués. Dans le

Campement ou les deux premier on Etez tuez Nous avon trouvez un
campement où les deux premiers ont été tués nous avons trouvés un

Pied noire qui avait aussi Etez tuez et en suivant leur trase
Pied-Noir qui avait aussi été tué, et en suivant leur trace,

Nous avon vus quil En avait une autre de Blesse dangereusement
nous avons vu qu'il y en avait un autre de blessé dangereusement.

tous les Deux Sil le blesse meure on reçu Leur more de la main
Tous les deux, si le blessé meurt, ont reçu leur mort de la main

de Chique [Cheeks] car il ni a que Lui qui sai defendue Set
de Chique [Cheeks], car il n'y a que lui qui s'est défendu. Cette

malheureuse affaire nous Cause une perte considerable maist Je ne
malheureuse affaire nous cause une perte considérable, mais je ne

croi pas pour Sela de vaire perdre Courage Les ressource de Se
crois pas pour cela devoir perdre courage. Les ressources de ce

payls Son imance en Castors il est vrait que nous ne feront
pays sont immenses en castor. Il est vrai que nous ne ferons

rein Se printemp mait Je me flate que nous feront Lautone pro-
rien ce printemps, mais je me flatte que nous ferons l'automne pro-
(quelque chose)

chaine Jes pert que Dici a mon De pare Jevairais les Ser pent
chaine. J'espère que, d'ici à mon départ, je verrai les Serpents

et les taite plate Mon Intention est de les faire Reste icy Si
 et les Tête-plates. Mon intention est de les faire rester ici, si

Je puis et de les Encourage a la Guere Contre Les pied noirs Jus-
 je puis, et de les encourager à la guerre contre les Pieds-noirs, jus-

qu'à Se que nous puission Enprend pri Son nice et en renvoiez
 qu'à ce que nous puissions en prendre prisonniers, et en renvoyer

un pour faire des proposion de pais Seque Je croi Serat ayse
 un pour faire des propositions de paix, ce que je crois sera aisé

En leur Lesent des traiteurs au bat de la Chute (word torn out)
 en leur laissant des traiteurs au bas de la chute [du Missouri.]

Si nous navont point La paix avec Ses ma- (rest of word gone) ou
 Si nous n'avons point la paix avec ces ma[udits (?)], ou

quil ne Soi point detruit nous ne devons point pense a
 qu'ils ne soient point détruits, nous ne devons point penser à

havoire detablissement icy assure Madame Chouteau de mon es-
 avoir d'établissement ici. Assurez Madame Chouteau de mon es-

time la plus Sain Saire ainsi que vos Chers enfants et Croiez Moix
 time le plus sincère ainsi que vos chers enfants, et croyez-moi

pour La vie votre Devouez
 pour la vie votre dévoué.

} Pierre Menard
 { Pierre Menard,

Nous nous atendent tous les jours Devoir }
 Nous nous attendons tous les jours de voir }

les pied noire icy et nous Le desiront }
 les Pieds-noirs ici, et nous le désirons. }

(Address on back of letter)

Monsieur Pierre Chouteau

St. Louis.

Faveur de Mr. }
 Wm. Bryante }

(Brief put on after receipt of letter)

Lettre de Monsr.

P. Menard du

21 Avril 1810.

(Translation.)

THREE FORKS OF THE MISSOURI,

April 21, 1810.

Mr. Pierre Chouteau, Esq.,

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER-IN-LAW:—I had hoped to be able to write you more favorably than I am now able to do. The outlook before us was much more flattering ten days ago than it is today. A party of our hunters was defeated by the Blackfeet on the 12th inst. There were two men killed, all their beaver stolen, many of their traps lost, and the ammunition of several of them, and also seven of our horses. We set out in pursuit of the Indians but unfortunately could not overtake them. We have recovered forty-four traps and three horses, which we brought back here, and we hope to find a few more traps.

This unfortunate affair has quite discouraged our hunters, who are unwilling to hunt any more here. There will start out tomorrow, however, a party of thirty who are all *gens à gage*, fourteen *loués* and sixteen French. They go to the place where the others were defeated. I shall give them only three traps each, not deeming it prudent to risk more, especially since they are not to separate, and half are to remain in camp.

The party which was defeated consisted of eleven persons, and eight or nine of them were absent tending their traps when the savages pounced upon the camp. The two persons killed are James Cheeks, and one Ayres, an *engagé* of Messrs. Crooks and McLellan whom Messrs. Silvester and Auguste [Chouteau] had equipped to hunt on shares. Besides these two, there are missing young Hull who was of the same camp, and Freeheartly and his man who were camped about two miles farther up. We have found four traps belonging to these men and the place where they were pursued by the savages, but we have not yet found the place where they were killed.

In the camp where the first two men were killed we found

a Blackfoot who had also been killed, and upon following their trail we saw that another had been dangerously wounded. Both of them, if the wounded man dies, came to their death at the hand of Cheeks, for he alone defended himself.

This unhappy miscarriage causes us a considerable loss, but I do not propose on that account to lose heart. The resources of this country in beaver fur are immense. It is true that we shall accomplish nothing this spring, but I trust that we shall next autumn. I hope between now and then to see the Snake and Flathead Indians. My plan is to induce them to stay here, if possible, and make war upon the Blackfeet so that we may take some prisoners and send back one with propositions of peace—which I think can easily be secured by leaving traders among them below the Falls of the Missouri. Unless we can have peace with these (ma—?) or unless they can be destroyed, it is idle to think of maintaining an establishment at this point.

Assure Madame Chouteau of my most sincere esteem as well as your dear children, and believe me always your devoted

PIERRE MENARD.

We are daily expecting to see the Blackfeet here and are desirous of meeting them.

(Address on back of letter.)

MONSIEUR PIERRE CHOUTEAU,
St. Louis.

Through the kindness of
Mr. Wm. Bryant.

(Brief on back of letter after receipt.)

Letter from Mr. P. Menard,
April 21, 1810.

B.

LETTER FROM MANUEL LISA TO GENERAL
CLARK.

On the conduct of Lisa's office as Indian agent.

ST. LOUIS, July 1st, 1817.

To His Excellency, Governor Clark :

SIR :—I have the honor to remit to you the commission of sub-agent, which you were pleased to bestow upon me, in the summer of 1814, for the Indian nations who inhabit the Missouri river above the mouth of the Kansas, and to pray you to accept my resignation of that appointment.

The circumstances under which I do this, demand of me some exposition of the actual state of these Indians, and of my own conduct during the time of my sub-agency.

Whether I deserve well or ill of the government, depends upon the solution of these questions :

1. Are the Indians of the Missouri more or less friendly to the United States than at the time of my appointment?

2. Are they altered, better or worse, in their own condition at this time?

1. I received this appointment when war was raging between the United States and Great Britain, and when the activity of British emissaries had armed against the Republic all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi and of the northern lakes. Had the Missouri Indians been overlooked by British agents?

No, your excellency will remember that more than a year before the war broke out, I gave you intelligence that the wampum was carrying by British influence along the banks

of the Missouri, and that all the nations of this great river were excited to join the universal confederacy then setting on foot, of which the Prophet was the instrument, and British traders the soul. The Indians of the Missouri are to those of the Upper Mississippi as four is to one. Their weight would be great, if thrown into the scale against us. They did not arm against the Republic; on the contrary, they armed against Great Britain and struck the Iowas, the allies of that power.

When peace was proclaimed more than forty chiefs had intelligence with me; and together, we were to carry an expedition of several thousand warriors against the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and silence them at once. These things are known to your excellency.

To the end of the war, therefore, the Indians of the Missouri continued friends of the United States. How are they today when I come to lay down my appointment? Still friends, hunting in peace upon their own ground, and we trading with them in security, while the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, silenced but not satisfied, give signs of enmity, and require the presence of a military force. And thus the first question resolves itself to my advantage.

2. Before I ascended the Missouri as sub-agent, your excellency remembers what was accustomed to take place. The Indians of that river killed, robbed and pillaged the traders; these practices are no more. Not to mention the others, my own establishments furnish the example of destruction then, of safety now. I have one at the Mahas more than six hundred miles up the Missouri, another at the Sioux, six hundred miles further still. I have from one to two hundred men in my employment, large quantities of horses, and horned cattle, of hogs, of domestic fowls; not one is touched by an Indian; for I count as nothing some solitary thefts at the instigation of white men, my enemies; nor as an act of hostility the death of Pedro Antonio, one of my people, shot this spring, as a man is sometimes shot among us, without being stripped or mutilated. And thus

the morals of these Indians are altered for the better, and the second question equally results to my advantage.

But I have had some success as a trader; and this gives rise to many reports.

"Manuel must cheat the government, and Manuel must cheat the Indians, otherwise Manuel could not bring down every summer so many boats loaded with rich furs."

Good. My accounts with the government will show whether I receive anything out of which to cheat it. A poor five hundred dollars, as sub-agent salary, does not buy the tobacco which I annually give to those who call me father.

Cheat the Indians! The respect and friendship which they have for me, the security of my possessions in the heart of their country, respond to this charge, and declare with voices louder than the tongues of men that it cannot be true.

"But Manuel gets so much rich fur!"

Well, I will explain how I get it. First, I put into my operations great activity; I go a great distance, while some are considering whether they will start today or tomorrow. I impose upon myself great privations; ten months in a year I am buried in the forest, at a vast distance from my own house. I appear as the benefactor, and not as the pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion, from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing 160 pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year I have promised to carry the plough. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these nations, and the consequent choice of their trade.

These things I have done, and I propose to do more. The Aricaras, the Mandans, the Gros-Ventres, and the Assiniboines, find themselves near the establishment of Lord Sel-

kirk upon the Red river. They can communicate with it in two or three days. The evils of such communication will strike the minds of all persons, and it is for those who can handle the pen to dilate upon them. For me I go to form another establishment to counteract the one in question, and shall labor to draw upon us the esteem of these nations, and to prevent their commerce from passing into the hands of foreigners.

I regret to have troubled your excellency with this exposition. It is right for you to hear what is said of a public agent, and also to weigh it, and to consider the source from which it comes. In ceasing to be in the employment of the United States, I shall not be less devoted to its interests. I have suffered enough in person and property, under a different government, to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your excellency's obedient servant.

MANUEL LISA.

C.

NOTES ON THE ASTORIAN ENTERPRISE.

Numbers of the Astorians — Arrivals and departures from Astoria — Deaths among the Astorians — Biographical notes — Loss of the *Tonquin*.

THE NUMBER OF THE ASTORIANS.

The Astorians, properly so called, included those persons in the service of the Pacific Fur Company who went to the Columbia by the *Tonquin*, the *Beaver*, or by Hunt's overland expedition. There were a few scattering arrivals besides these. The *Tonquin* arrived within the mouth of the Columbia March 25th, 1811, and the *Beaver* May 9th, 1812. One detachment of Hunt's party arrived January 18, 1812; another February 15, 1812; a third (Crooks and Day) May 10, 1812; and a fourth January 6th, 1813. The principal departures were by the *Tonquin* June 1, 1811; by Stuart's overland expedition June 29, 1812; by the *Pedler*, April 3, 1814; and by the Northwest brigade April 4, 1814.

ARRIVALS.

By the Tonquin: There sailed from New York by the *Tonquin* 22 crew and 33 passengers. There were taken on 24 Sandwich Islanders, making a total of 79. There were left at the Islands 2 (crew) leaving 77 who arrived at the mouth of the Columbia. There were lost in crossing the bar 8 (4 passengers, 3 crew and 1 Sandwich Islander), leaving 69 who entered the Columbia. There sailed on the *Tonquin* 27 (16 crew, 3 Astorians and 8 Islanders). There remained at Astoria 42 (27 whites and 15 Islanders). One of the crew had left the ship and remained at Astoria.

The Overland Expedition—West: The total number of persons who left the Aricara villages July 18, 1811, with Mr. Hunt, was 64, as we learn definitely for the first time on the journey at the Caldron Linn, November 8, 1811. The number is arrived at as follows:

September 2	Left among the Crows Edward Rose	1
October 1	Trapping party detached at Snake river	4
October 10	Trapping party detached at Fort Henry	5
October 28	Antoine Clappine drowned at Caldron Linn	1
October 30	Reed and 3 men set out down river from Caldron Linn, 2 returning	2
October 31	McLellan's party sets out from Caldron Linn	4
October 31	McKenzie's party sets out from Caldron Linn	5
November 9	Hunt's party sets out from Caldron Linn	23
November 9	Crook's party sets out from Caldron Linn	19
		<hr/> 64

This number includes 1 woman and 2 children. The number given by Crooks is 60, but he doubtless omitted Rose and the woman and children.

Jan. 18, 1812,	arrived at Astoria parties of Reed, McLellan and McKenzie	11
Feb. 15	" " " " Hunt's party	34
May 10	" " " " Crooks and Day	2
Jan. 6, 1813	" " " " Carson, Delauney, St. Michael, Dubreuil, LaChapelle, Landry, and Turcot	7
Still detached, including Rose (for Cass and Detayé, see next line)		5
Perished—Clappine, Detayé, Cass, Carrière, Provost		5
		<hr/> 64

The total number who reached Astoria was 54.

On the Beaver: Irving says that the *Beaver* sailed with 1 partner, 5 clerks, 15 American laborers and 6 voyageurs, and took on 12 Islanders. One of the company's men died en route which would leave in all 38. Franchère places the number who arrived at Astoria at 33, and Cox, who was one of the passengers, at 36.

Fugitive Arrivals: There were 7 arrivals from various sources, but none of them of importance.

The total number of persons who entered the company's service on the *Columbia*, including the Islanders and fugitive

arrivals, was therefore 144. This is a maximum number, the minimum given by any authority being 135.

PERISHED.

The following is the number of Astorians who are known to have lost their lives during the continuance of the enterprise:

On the <i>Columbia Bar</i>	4
In the <i>Tonquin</i> massacre	3
On the <i>Beaver</i>	1
Of the Overland Party	5
With Reed on Snake river	10
Lost at Astoria from various causes (Ross)	4
Total	27
Ship crews lost:	
On <i>Columbia Bar</i> (including 1 islander)	4
<i>Tonquin</i> Massacre (including 8 islanders)	24
On the <i>Beaver</i>	2
Shipwreck of the <i>Lark</i>	8
Total	38
Grand total	65

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Cox, Ross, was one of the clerks of the Pacific Fur Company; came to Astoria in the *Beaver* and entered the Northwest service in 1813. He was commonly known by the soubriquet of "Little Irishman." He remained on the *Columbia* six years, ascending the river nine times and descending it eight. His chief importance in Astorian history arises from the fact that he published an account of the enterprise which, although the least trustworthy of the original authorities, is still an important work. Its title is *Adventures on the Columbia River*, London, 1831.

Day, John, a hunter in the overland party under Hunt. According to Irving he was a Virginia backwoodsman, but had for several years been on the Missouri in the service of Crooks and others. He was about forty years old in 1811, six feet two inches high, in form erect, with a step elastic, and "a handsome, open, manly countenance." He was a true representative of the American hunter. He joined Hunt's party

and went with the overland expedition to Astoria. He was somewhat broken in health at this time and fell behind with Crooks on Snake river when Hunt went on with the main party in the winter of 1811-12. He and Crooks were robbed of everything and stripped naked in the following spring on the Columbia. A large southern tributary of the Columbia that enters the river at this point is still called John Day's river.

Not liking the prospect at Astoria, Day resolved to return with the overland party under Robert Stuart; but before he reached the Walla Walla he became violently insane and was taken back to Astoria. Irving says that he died within a year, but this must have been a mistake for he was certainly alive in the spring of 1814. As a matter of fact Day seems to have remained in the service of the Northwest Company for upwards of seven years and to have died in the upper Snake river country in 1819. Ross speaks in his *Fur Hunters* of a "defile where the veteran John Day died in 1819," and elsewhere refers to "Day's Valley." It was somewhere near Godin river. Ferris repeatedly refers to this valley as "Day's Defile."

Dorion, Pierre, a half-breed, and son of the Dorion who accompanied Lewis and Clark on a portion of their expedition across the continent. He was hired by Hunt as an interpreter and joined the overland expedition with his Indian wife and two children. He figures frequently in Irving's account of the expedition and generally in an interesting way. His death at the hands of the Indians near Boise river, Idaho, has already been related.

Dorion's wife was a woman of remarkable fortitude and perseverance, as will be seen from her experiences as related in the text. She and her children were still living in Oregon in 1850. One of the boys, Baptiste Dorion, was guide to the naturalist, Townsend, on a trip along the Columbia in 1834.

Franchère, Gabriel, one of the clerks who sailed in the *Tonquin*. His service on the Columbia was entirely at Astoria, and he was an eye witness of all the events which

transpired there from March 25, 1811, when the *Tonquin* entered the Columbia, until April 4, 1814, when he left Fort George for home. Whatever is known of Franchère is to his credit. He was a man of ability and strictly honorable in all his relations. It is greatly to his honor that he had no hand in the negotiations connected with the transfer of Astoria and emphatically disapproved of McDougal's conduct.

Franchère did an inestimable service to the cause of Western history in leaving an admirable account of events at Astoria. It is written in a clear, simple and direct style, and is our best authority, except Irving's work, upon Mr. Astor's great enterprise. *Franchère's Narrative* was written in French and published in Montreal, 1819. An edition in English was published in 1854.

Franchère, after his return to Montreal, continued his connection with the fur business. He was engaged to the Northwest Company for several years, and in 1833 was employing men in Montreal for the American Fur Company.

Hunt, Wilson Price, chief partner in the Pacific Fur Company, except Mr. Astor, and leader of the overland Astorian expedition. Born at Asbury, New Jersey, date uncertain. Went to St. Louis in 1804 and was in business with John Hankinson in that city until Mr. Astor began to negotiate with him concerning his proposed enterprise on the Pacific. After the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company were wound up Hunt returned to business in St. Louis. In 1822 he was appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Monroe. He was one of St. Louis' prominent business men and was highly respected by those who knew him. The events of his life which are most important in the present connection have already been related.

Miller, Joseph, "a gentleman well educated and well informed, and of a respectable family in Baltimore. He had been an officer in the army of the United States, but had resigned in disgust at being refused a furlough, and had taken to trapping beaver and trading with the Indians."

(Irving.) Miller was with Crooks and McLellan in 1809 and joined the Pacific Fur Company with these gentlemen. The same imperious temper which drove him out of the army caused him to quit the new company when Hunt's expedition was about half way across the continent. After spending the fall and winter trapping and roving over the country until from one cause or another he was reduced almost to starvation, he was picked up by Robert Stuart in 1812 and acted as guide to Stuart's party from Snake to Bear river. For this very excellent service he was taken to task by the rest of the party, who thought that he was leading them too far to the south. They accordingly abandoned his guidance and made their senseless detour to the north. Miller's course was exactly right and to him belongs the credit of opening that part of the Oregon Trail which lay between Snake and Bear rivers.

It is quite possible that Miller may have seen Salt Lake in the winter of 1811-12.

Miller returned to St. Louis with Stuart's party and nothing further is known of him.

Reed, John, a clerk in the Pacific Fur Company, an Irishman by birth, and one of the unluckiest of the Astorians. His unfortunate affair with the tin box on the Columbia, and his untimely death on the Boise have already been related. Nothing is known of him except his connection with Astoria.

Ross, Alexander, a clerk of the Pacific Fur Company, who sailed with the *Tonquin*. After the downfall of Astoria he entered the Northwest service and remained there for many years. Much of his work was in the country around the headwaters of the Snake river. The greatest service which Ross performed was the publication of his two works, *Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia river* and *Fur Hunters of the Far West*. Both of these works are valuable contributions to the history of the fur trade.

Stuart, Robert, of Scotch extraction and a nephew of David Stuart. Both were partners in the Pacific Fur Company and both sailed in the *Tonquin*. Young Robert Stuart

appears to have been a man of great ability and spirit. It was he who forced Captain Thorn, at the pistol's mouth, to turn about the ship at the Falkland Islands. He was selected to take charge of the returning overland expedition, although he had not crossed the country before and although there were in the party both Crooks and McLellan, who had crossed. After the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company were closed up, Crooks and Stuart entered Mr. Astor's service on the Great Lakes. When Crooks rose to the general agency of the company, Stuart was placed in charge of the Northern Department with headquarters at Michilimackinac. Many of his letters may still be seen in the old Astor letter books.

LOSS OF THE TONQUIN.

The following account of the loss of the *Tonquin* appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of May 15, 1813, being the first published account of that disaster. It has never before been reproduced.

"Loss of the Ship *Tonquin* near the Mouth of the Columbia.

"A large ship [*The Beaver*] had arrived from New York after a passage of near seven months, with merchandise and provisions for the company. It was here we learnt with sorrow that the story of the *Tonquin* having been cut off was but too true. The circumstances have been related in different ways by the natives in the environs of the establishment, but that which, from their own knowledge, carries with it the greatest appearance of truth is as follows: That vessel, after landing the cargo intended for Astoria, departed on a trading voyage to the coast north of Columbia river with a company of (including officers) 23 men, and had proceeded about 400 miles along the seaboard when they stopped on Vancouver's Island at a place called Woody Point, inhabited by a powerful nation called Wake-a-ninishes. These people came on board to barter their furs for merchandise, and conducted themselves in the most decorous and friendly manner during the first day, but the same evening

information was brought on board by an Indian, whom the officers had as interpreter, that the tribe where they then lay were ill-disposed and intended attacking the ship next day. Captain Jonathan Thorn affected to disbelieve this piece of news, and even when the savages came next morning in great numbers, it was only at the pressing remonstrance of Mr. McKay that he ordered seven men aloft to loosen the sails. In the meantime about 50 Indians were permitted to come on board, who traded a number of sea otters for blankets and knives; the former they threw into their canoe as soon as received, but secreted the knives. Every one when armed moved from the quarter deck to different parts of the vessel, so that by the time they were ready, in such a manner were they distributed that at least three savages were opposite every man of the ship, and at a signal given they rushed on their prey, and notwithstanding the brave resistance of every individual of the whites they were all butchered in a few minutes. The men above, in attempting to descend, lost two of their number, besides one mortally wounded, who, notwithstanding his weakened condition, made good his retreat with the four others to the cabin, where, finding a quantity of loaded arms, they fired on their savage assailers through the skylights and companion-way, which had the effect of clearing the ship in a short time, and long before night these five intrepid sons of America were again in full possession of her. Whether from want of abilities or strength, supposing themselves unable to take the vessel back to Columbia, it cannot be ascertained. This fact only is known, that between the time the Indians were driven from the ship and the following morning, the four who were unhurt left her in the long boat in hopes of regaining the river, wishing to take along with them the wounded person, who refused their offer saying that he must die before long and was as well in the vessel as elsewhere.

“Soon after sunrise she was surrounded by an immense number of Indians in canoes [who had] come for the express purpose of unloading her, but who, from the warm recep-

tion they met with the day before, did not seem to vie with each other in boarding.

"The wounded man showing himself over the railing, made signs that he was alone and wanted their assistance, on which some embarked, who, finding what he said was true, spoke to their people who were not any longer slow in getting on board; so that in a few seconds the deck was considerably thronged, and they proceeded to undo the hatches without further ceremony.

"No sooner were they completely engaged in thus finishing this most diabolical of actions, than the only survivor of the crew descended into the cabin and set fire to the magazine containing nearly nine thousand pounds of gunpowder, which in an instant blew the vessel and every one on board to atoms.

"The nation acknowledge their having lost nearly one hundred warriors, besides a vast number wounded, by the explosion, who were in canoes round the ship. It is impossible to tell who the person was that so completely avenged himself, but there cannot exist a single doubt that the act will teach these villains better manners and will eventually be of immense benefit to the coasting trade. The four men who set off in the long boat were two or three days after driven ashore in a gale and massacred by the natives."

D.

THE "FLATHEAD DEPUTATION" OF 1832.

[Letter from G. P. Disoway to the *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, Friday, March 1, 1833.]

THE FLATHEAD INDIANS.

The plans to civilize the savage tribes of our country are among the most remarkable signs of the times. To meliorate the condition of the Indians, and to preserve them from gradual decline and extinction, the government of the United States have proposed and already commenced removing them to the region westward of the Mississippi. Here it is intended to establish them in a permanent residence. Some powerful nations of these aborigines, having accepted the proposal, have already emigrated to their new lands, and others are now preparing to follow them. Among those who still remain are the Wyandots, a tribe long distinguished as standing at the head of the great Indian family.

The earliest travelers in Canada first discovered this tribe while ascending the St. Lawrence, at Montreal. They were subsequently driven by the Iroquois, in one of those fierce internal wars that characterize the Indians of North America, to the northern shores of Lake Huron. From this resting place also their relentless enemy literally hunted them until the remnant of this once powerful and proud tribe found a safe abode among the Sioux, who resided west of Lake Superior. When the power of the Iroquois was weakened by the French the Wyandots returned from the Sioux country, and settled near Michilimackinac. They finally took up their abode on the plains of Sandusky, in Ohio, where they continue to this day.

The Wyandots, amounting to five hundred, are the only Indians in Ohio who have determined to remain upon their lands. The Senecas, Shawnees, and Ottawas have all sold their Ohio possessions, and have either removed or are on their way to the west of the Mississippi. A small band of about seventy Wyandots from the Big Spring have disposed of their reservation of 16,000 acres, but have not accepted the offered lands of the government in exchange. They will retire into Michigan, or Canada, after leaving some of their number at the main reservation of Upper Sandusky.

The wonderful effects of the Gospel among the Wyandots are well known. Providence has blessed in a most remarkable manner the labors of our missionaries for their conversion. Knowledge, civilization, and social comforts have followed the introduction of Christianity into their regions. To all of the Indians residing within the jurisdiction of the states or territories the United States propose to purchase their present possessions and improvements, and in return to pay them acre for acre with lands west of the Mississippi river. Among the inducements to make this exchange are the following : perpetuity in their new abodes. as the faith of the government is pledged never to sanction another removal ; the organization of a territorial government for their use like those in Florida, Arkansas, and Michigan, and the privilege to send delegates to Congress, as is now enjoyed by the other territories. Could the remaining tribes of the original possessors of this country place implicit reliance upon these assurances and prospects, this scheme to meliorate their condition, and to bring them within the pale of civilized life, might safely be pronounced great, humane, and rational.

The Wyandots, after urgent and often repeated solicitations of the government for their removal, wisely resolved to send agents to explore the region offered them in exchange, before they made any decision upon the proposal. In November last the party started on the exploring expedition,

and visited their proposed residence. This was a tract of country containing about 200,000 acres, and situated between the western part of Missouri and the Missouri river. The location was found to be one altogether unsuitable to the views, the necessities, and the support of the nation. They consequently declined the exchange.

Since their return, one of the exploring party, Mr. Wm. Walker, an interpreter, and himself a member of the nation, has sent me a communication. As it contains some valuable facts of a region from which we seldom hear, the letter is now offered for publication.

Upper Sandusky, Jan. 19, 1833.

Dear Friend:—Your last letter, dated Nov. 12, came duly to hand. The business part is answered in another communication which is inclosed.

I deeply regret that I have had no opportunity of answering your very friendly letter in a manner that would be satisfactory to myself; neither can I now, owing to a want of time and a retired place, where I can write undisturbed.

You, no doubt, can fancy me seated in my small dwelling, at the dining table, attempting to write, while my youngest (sweet little urchin!) is pulling my pocket-handkerchief out of my pocket, and Henry Clay, my only son, is teasing me to pronounce a word he has found in his little spelling book. This done, a loud rap is heard at my door, and two or three of my Wyandot friends make their appearance, and are on some business. I drop my pen, dispatch the business, and resume it.

The country we explored is truly a land of savages. It is wild and romantic; it is a champaign, but beautifully undulated country. You can travel in some parts for whole days and not find timber enough to afford a riding switch, especially after you get off the Missouri and her principal tributary streams. The soil is generally a dark loam, but not of a durable kind for agriculture. As a country for agricultural pursuits, it is far inferior to what it has been

represented to be. It is deplorably defective in timber. There are millions of acres on which you cannot procure timber enough to make a chicken coop. Those parts that are timbered are on some of the principal streams emptying into the great Missouri, and are very broken, rough, and cut up with deep ravines; and the timber, what there is of it, is of an inferior quality, generally a small growth of white, black, and bur oaks; hickory, ash, buckeye, mulberry, linwood, coffee bean, a low scrubby kind of birch, red and slippery elm, and a few scattering walnut trees. It is remarkable, in all our travels west of the Mississippi river, we never found even one solitary poplar, beech, pine, or sassafras tree, though we were informed that higher up the Missouri river, above Council Bluffs, pine trees abound to a great extent, especially the nearer you approach the Rocky mountains. The immense country embraced between the western line of the state of Missouri, and the territory of Arkansas, and the eastern base of the Rocky mountains on the west, and Texas and Santa Fe on the south, is inhabited by the Osage, Sioux (pronounced Sooz), Pawnees, Comanches, Pancahs, Arrapohoes, Assinaboins, Riccarees, Yanktons, Omahaws, Blackfeet, Ottoes, Crow Indians, Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas; all a wild, fierce, and war-like people. West of the mountains reside the Flatheads, and many other tribes, whose names I do not now recollect.

I will here relate an anecdote, if I may so call it. Immediately after we landed in St. Louis, on our way to the West, I proceeded to Gen. Clark's, superintendent of Indian affairs, to present our letters of introduction from the Secretary of War, and to receive the same from him to the different Indian agents in the upper country. While in his office and transacting business with him, he informed me that three chiefs from the Flathead nation were in his house, and were quite sick, and that one (the fourth) had died a few days ago. They were from the west of the Rocky mountains. Curiosity prompted me to step into the adjoining room to see them, having never seen any, but often heard

of them. I was struck with their appearance. They differ in appearance from any tribe of Indians I have ever seen: small in size, delicately formed, small limbs, and the most exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I had always supposed from their being called "Flatheads," that the head was actually flat on top; but this is not the case. The head is flattened thus:

From the point of the nose to the apex of the head, there is a perfect straight line, the protuberance of the forehead is flattened or leveled. You may form some idea of the shape of their heads from the rough sketch I have made with the pen, though I confess I have drawn most too long a proboscis for a flat-head. This is produced by a pressure upon the cranium while in infancy. The distance they had traveled on foot was nearly three thousand miles to see Gen. Clark, their great father, as they called him, he being the first American officer they ever became acquainted with, and having much confidence in him, they had come to consult him as they said, upon very important matters. Gen. C. related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative. I will here relate it as briefly as I well can. It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to him; he also informed them that the white people *away* toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy his favor and hold converse with him; and with this guide, no one need go astray; but every one that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, his favor, and after death would be received into the country where the great Spirit resides, and live for ever with him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if *our* mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the great Spirit, it is time we had laid it aside. We must know something about this, it is a matter that cannot be put off, the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of the chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, Gen. Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis, and presented themselves to Gen. C. The latter was somewhat puzzled being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him; he, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white man in their own country was true. Then went into a succinct history of man, from his creation down to the advent of the Saviour; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue; informed them of the advent of the Saviour, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as a mediator—that he will judge the world, etc.

Poor fellows, they were not all permitted to return home to their people with the intelligence. Two died in St. Louis, and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not is not known. The change of climate and diet operated very severely upon their health. Their diet when at home is chiefly vegetables and fish.

If they died on their way home, peace be to their manes! They died inquirers after the truth. I was informed that the Flatheads, as a nation, have the fewest vices of any tribe of Indians on the continent of America.

I had just concluded I would lay this rough and uncouth scroll aside and revise it before I would send it, but if I lay it aside you will never receive it; so I will send it to you just

as it is, "with all its imperfections," hoping that you may be able to decipher it. You are at liberty to make what use you please of it.

Yours in haste,

WM. WALKER.

G. P. Disoway, Esq.

The most singular custom of flattening the head prevails among all the Indian nations west of the Rocky mountains. It is most common along the lower parts of the Columbia river, but diminishes in traveling eastward, until it is to be scarcely seen in the remote tribes near the mountains. Here the folly is confined to a few females only. The practice must have commenced at a very early period, as Columbus noticed it among the first objects that struck his attention. An essential point of beauty with those savages is a *flat head*. Immediately after the birth of the child the mother, anxious to procure the recommendation of a broad forehead for her infant, places it in the compressing machine. This is a cradle formed like a trough, with one end where the head reposes more elevated than the other. A padding is then placed upon the forehead, which presses against the head by cords passing through holes on each side of the cradle. The child is kept in this manner upward of a year, and the operation is so gradual as to be attended with scarcely any pain. During this period of compression the infant presents a frightful appearance, its little keen black eyes being forced out to an unnatural degree by the pressure of bandages. When released from this process the head is flattened, and seldom exceeds more than one or two inches in thickness. Nature with all its efforts can never afterward restore the proper shape. The heads of grown persons often form a straight line from the nose to the top of the forehead. From the outlines of the face in Mr. Walker's communication I have endeavored to sketch a Flathead for the purpose of illustrating more clearly this most strange custom. The dotted lines will show the usual rotundity of a human head, and the cut how widely a Flathead differs from the rest of the great family of man. So great is this

difference as to compel anatomists themselves to confess that an examination of such skulls and ocular demonstration only could have convinced them of the possibility of moulding the head into this form. The "human face Divine" is thus sacrificed to fantastic ideas of savage beauty. They allege also, as an apology for this custom, that their slaves have round heads, and that the children of a brave and free race ought not to suffer such a degradation.

This deformity, however, of the Flathead Indians is redeemed by other numerous good qualities. Travelers relate that they have fewer vices than any of the tribes in those regions. They are honest, brave, and peaceable. The women become exemplary wives and mothers, and a husband with an unfaithful companion is a circumstance almost unknown among them. They believe in the existence of a good and evil Spirit, with rewards and punishments of a future state. Their religion promises to the virtuous after death a climate where perpetual summer will shine over plains filled with their much beloved buffalo, and upon streams abounding in the most delicious fish. Here they will spend their time in hunting and fishing, happy and undisturbed from every enemy; while the bad Indian will be consigned to a place of eternal snows, with fires in his sight that he cannot enjoy, and buffalo and deer that cannot be caught to satisfy his hunger.

A curious tradition prevails among them, concerning beavers. These animals, so celebrated for their sagacity, they believe are a fallen race of Indians, who have been condemned on account of their wickedness by the great Spirit, to their present form of the brute creation. At some future period they also declare that these fallen creatures will be restored to their former state.

How deeply touching is the circumstance of the four natives traveling on foot 3,000 miles through thick forests and extensive prairies, sincere searchers after truth! The story has scarcely a parallel in history. What a touching theme does it form for the imagination and pen of a Mont-

gomery, a Mrs. Hemans, or our own fair Sigourney! With what intense concern will men of God whose souls are fired with holy zeal for the salvation of their fellow beings, read their history! There are immense plains, mountains, and forests in those regions whence they came, the abodes of numerous savage tribes. But no apostle of Christ has yet had the courage to penetrate into their moral darkness. Adventurous and daring fur traders only have visited these regions, unknown to the rest of the world, except from their own accounts of them. If the Father of spirits, as revealed by Jesus Christ, is not known in these interior wilds of America, they nevertheless often resound the praises of the unknown, invisible great Spirit, as he is denominated by the savages. They are not ignorant of the immortality of their souls, and speak of some future delicious island or country where departed spirits rest. May we not indulge the hope that the day is not far distant when the missionaries will penetrate into these wilds where the Sabbath bell has never yet tolled since the world began! There is not, perhaps, west of the Rocky mountains, any portion of the Indians that presents at this moment a spectacle so full of interest to the contemplative mind as the Flathead tribe. Not a thought of converting or civilizing them ever enters the mind of the sordid, demoralizing hunters and fur traders. These simple children of nature even shrink from the loose morality and inhumanities often introduced among them by the white man. Let the Church awake from her slumbers and go forth in her strength to the salvation of these wandering sons of our native forests. We are citizens of this vast universe, and our life embraces not merely a moment, but eternity itself. Thus exalted, what can be more worthy of our high destination than to befriend our species and those efforts that are making to release immortal spirits from the chains of error and superstition, and to bring them to the knowledge of the true God.

G. P. D.

New York, Feb. 18, 1833.

[The following letters were published in the *Christian Advocate* of May 10, 1833.]

THE FLATHEAD INDIANS.

The following correspondence and communication will be read with great interest. Is it not the voice of Heaven to us? The field opens gloriously. Read Mr. M'Allister's letter below. The men are ready; let the Missionary Society have the means. Let the whole Church become a missionary band; not for this object particularly, but for every object. These documents necessarily shorten our notice of the missionary anniversary of our Church, held on the evening of the 23d of April, but we shall continue it in our next.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., April 16. [1833.]

DEAR BRETHREN:—The communication respecting the Flat Head Indians, which appeared a few weeks since in your paper, and the call of Dr. Fisk, have excited considerable attention. I have just received a letter from Brother Brunson, propounding several questions, which he wished me to have answered here, so that the desired information might be rendered available to the Christian public. I called immediately upon Gen. Clark, who received me kindly. He informed me he was just answering, or had just answered, some communications upon the subject. I was struck with the propriety of an immediate communication from this place; I therefore send you this, sincerely wishing it may be useful.

Gen. Clark informed me that the publication which had appeared in the *Advocate* was correct. Of the return of the two Indians nothing is known. He informed me the cause of their visit was the following: Two of their number had received an education at some Jesuitical school in Montreal, Canada, had returned to the tribe, and endeavored, as far as possible, to instruct their brethren how the whites approached the Great Spirit. The consequence was a spirit of

inquiry was aroused, a deputation appointed, and a tedious journey of three thousand miles performed, to learn for themselves of Jesus and him crucified. Will not these Indians rise up in the day of judgment to the condemnation of hundreds and thousands who live and die unforgiven in Christian lands?

I had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. Campbell, who was one of the first traders among those Indians. He left on yesterday for the Rocky mountains and the country beyond. A few hours before his departure he favored me with the enclosed letter, which I wish you to publish with these remarks. Mr. Campbell is a very intelligent and gentlemanly man, and you may rely upon his information.

Yours as ever,

E. W. SEHON.

Rev. Mr. Sehon:

DEAR SIR:—In compliance with your request I shall give you a few very brief answers to the questions you have put respecting the Flat Head Indians.

1. Prospects of a mission? I cannot pretend to say what prospects there would be in a religious point of view. The Flat Head Indians are proverbial for their mild disposition and friendship to the whites, and I have little hesitation in saying a missionary would be treated by them with kindness.

2. Distance from St. Louis to Council Bluffs? The distance is about five hundred miles.

3. Whether suitable interpreters can be obtained for the Flat Head Indians? There would be some difficulty to have religious matters explained, because the best interpreters are half-Indians, that you could not explain to their minds the matter you would require to have told to the Indians.

4. The number of the Indians? There are about forty lodges of these Indians, averaging, say seven Indians to a lodge.

5. Do steamers go as far as the Council Bluffs? With the exception of the American Fur Company's steamboats, which ascend as high as the Yellow Stone, none go as far as the Bluffs.

6. Do fur traders go to the Flat Head country, and at what seasons of the year, and will they allow the missionaries to go in their company? There is every season one or more companies leaving St. Louis in the month of March, and I doubt not but they would willingly allow a missionary to accompany them; but the privations that a gentleman of that profession would have to encounter would be very great, as the shortest route that he would have by land would not be less than one thousand miles, and when he reached his destination he would have to travel with the Indians, as they have no permanent villages, nor have the traders any houses, but, like the Indian, move in their leather lodges from place to place throughout the season.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

St. Louis, April 13, 1833.

ST. LOUIS, April 17, 1833.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The visit of the Flat Head and Nose Pierce, or Pierced Nose, Indians to our place to inquire of the white man how he ascertains the will of the Great Spirit, has excited much interest in their behalf among the benevolent in different parts of the United States, and well it may, when we consider the distance they traveled, and the countless hardships they endured to learn by what means we have access into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the resurrection of the dead and the glory of God. Interrogatories have been proposed in reference to the tribe or band of Flat Heads, who sent the deputation to this city to wait on Gen. Clark, and in answering the question as to their number, Mr. Campbell confines his answer to that particular band, and states the number at about two hundred and eighty. This statement, though strictly true and fully

covering the inquiry proposed, might induce many not otherwise informed to suppose that the Flat Heads constitute a mere handful of people buried in the deep recesses of the stony mountains, near three thousand miles from the abodes of civilized man, and are scarcely worth looking after. This is not the fact: the deputation was from the Cho-pun-ish tribe, residing on Lewis river, above and below the mouth of the Koos-koos-ka river, and a small band of Flat Heads who live with them. The Cho-pun-ish or Pierce Nose Indians are about seven thousand in number, according to Gen. Clark's account.

The Indians residing on the tide water of the Oregon and below the great falls are about eight thousand in number. Those residing on the northwest of the Oregon, on the coast of the Pacific, number about six thousand. Those on the southwest on the same coast number about ten thousand two hundred; all these Indians are Flat Heads except one tribe—the Cook-koo-oose—living on the coast of the Pacific; these do not flatten the head, and are fairer in their complexion, and number about fifteen hundred. The Flat Heads living on Kilmox bay speak the same language with the Lucktons, Ka-kun-kle, Lick-a-wis, Yorich-cone, Neek-e-to, Ul-le-ah, You-itts, Shia Stuck-kle, and Kila-evats. The presumption is that it is the vernacular language of all those tribes living on the Oregon below the Great Falls and on the Pacific coast, northwest and southwest of the mouth of the Oregon. Gen. Clark discovered on the waters of the Oregon and coast of the Pacific more than sixty tribes of Indians, numbering about eighty thousand souls. It is not, however, to be presumed that his account is complete. It is highly probable that the coast of the eastern Pacific is frequented by Indians from Behring's Straits to Upper California, and many tribes no doubt exist in the interior both south and north of the Oregon, which did not come to the knowledge of Messrs. Lewis and Clark.

How ominous this visit of the Cho-pun-nish and Flat Head Indians! How loud the call to the missionary spirit

of the age! It calls to my mind a declaration made by Bishop Soule, when preaching at a camp in this country. Speaking of the missionary zeal of the Methodist preachers, of their extended field of labors, their untiring perseverance to compass the earth and spread Scriptural holiness through all the world: "We will not cease," said he, "until we shall have planted the standard of Christianity high on the summit of the Stony Mountains."

Already would it seem that a door is open, and the Indians from the lofty summit of the Rocky mountains look far east with burning desire to behold the coming of the messenger of God. Among the Cho-pun-nish and Flat Heads of Lewis river the work will commence; the honesty, hospitality, docility, and mildness of these Indians strongly recommended them first to the consideration of the civilian and Christian missionary; here the missionary may learn perhaps the language spoken by those of Kil-a-man bay on the Pacific: this will give access to perhaps twenty or thirty thousand below the Great Falls and on the Pacific.

One word more and I shall close. Many of our fellow-citizens have gone from this country so diseased as to render it doubtful whether they could ever reach the mountains and have returned from thence with constitutions restored and health renewed, to the astonishment of all that knew them. If you think the information herein contained would serve the purposes of Christian benevolence, give it a place in your Journal.

Yours affectionately,

A. M'ALLISTER.

E.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA RELATING TO THE
FUR TRADE.

State of the fur trade in 1831 — General Ashley's method of moving parties through the Indian country — A fur hunter's business accounts.

STATE OF THE FUR TRADE IN 1831.

[Letter from Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Manuscript Department, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.]

ST. LOUIS, October 24, 1831.

SIR:—In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 9th ultimo, I have the honor to give the following as answers to your queries. I am sorry to say that these answers are not so complete as I would wish them to be, but it seems impossible to collect more detailed or comprehensive information in this country on the subject of the trade from this place to Mexico and to the base and west of the Rocky mountains. Several persons with whom I have conversed, and who have decidedly the best knowledge of the subject, are unwilling to say anything about it, while others, who pretend to much knowledge of the business, are too ignorant to give even a plain common account, but tell so many wild stories and deal so much in the marvelous, that it appears unsafe to depend on anything they relate—

THE FUR TRADE ON THE FRONTIERS.

The fur trade of the countries bordering on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, as high up the former river as above the Falls of St. Anthony, and the latter as the Sioux establishment some distance above Council Bluffs, is carried on now

in the same manner as it ever has been. This trade continues to be monopolized by the American Fur Company, who have divided the whole of the Indian country into departments as follows: Farnham & Davenport have all the country of the Sauk and Fox Indians, as high up the Mississippi river as Dubuque's mines (without including the Fox Indians who reside at that place) as also all the Winnebago and other Indians who reside on the lower parts of Rock river; also the Iowa Indians who live at or near the [Black] Snake Hills on the Missouri river. The division of M^r. Rolette includes all the Indians from Dubuque's mines to a point above the Falls of St. Anthony, and up the St. Peters [Minnesota] river to its source, as also all the Indians on the Wisconsin and upper parts of Rock river. M^r. Cabanne (who is a member of the American Fur Company) has in his division all the Indians on the Missouri as high as a point above the Council Bluffs, including the Pawnee Indians of the interior, in about a southwest direction from his establishment. M^r. Auguste P. Chouteau has within his department all the Indians of the Osage country and others who may visit his establishment, such as the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians. Messrs. M^cKenzie, Laidlaw & Lamont have in their limits the Sioux Indians of the Missouri, and as high up the river as they choose to send or go. The American Fur Company bring on their goods annually in the spring season to this city from New York, which are then sent up the Missouri river to the different posts in a small steamboat. At those places the furs are received on board and brought down to St. Louis, where they are opened, counted, weighed, repacked, and shipped by steamboats to New Orleans, thence on board of vessels to New York, where the furs are unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to the best markets in Europe, except some of the finest (particularly otter skins), which are sent to China.

M^r. Rolette procures his goods at Mackinaw, takes them on in Mackinaw boats to Prairie du Chien (by way of Green

Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers), where he assorts them. They are then forwarded, by clerks hired for the purpose, with the same boats and men, to the different trading posts. Farnham & Davenport take up their goods from this city to the Indian villages in keelboats, with their clerks and men. M^r. Cabanne and M^r. M^cKenzie & Company take up their goods in the American Fur Company steamboats as before stated. The goods of M^r. A. P. Chouteau are transported by water in keelboats, as high up the Osage river as the water will admit; from thence they are carried in wagons to his establishment in the interior of the country. In the spring of the year when the Arkansaw is high M^r. Chouteau sends his furs down that river to New Orleans from whence they are shipped to New York.¹

By the time that the Indians have gathered their corn, the traders are prepared with their goods to give them credits. The articles of merchandise which the traders take with them to the Indian country are as follows: viz., blankets 3 points, 2½, 2, 1½, 1; common blue stroud; ditto red; blue cloth; scarlet do; calicoes; domestic cottons; rifles and shot guns, gunpowder, flints, and lead; knives of different kinds; looking glasses; vermilion and verdigris; copper, brass, and tin kettles; beaver and muskrat traps; fine and common bridles and spurs; silverworks; needles and thread; wampum; horses; tomahawks and half axes, etc. All traders at the present day give credit to the Indians in the same manner as has been the case for the last sixty or eighty years. That is to say, the articles which are passed on credit are given at

¹The reader will remember that the two principal divisions of the American Fur Company's field of operations were the Northern Department, headquarters at Michilimacina, and the Western Department, headquarters at St. Louis. What the writer here calls departments were really sub-departments of these two. Rolette belonged to the Northern Department, Farnham and Davenport to the Western Department, as of course did the Missouri traders. Whether Auguste P. Chouteau, who controlled the trade with the Osage Indians, was connected with the American Fur Company, or wholly independent of it, is not very clear from the records.

very high prices. Formerly, when the opposition and competition in the Indian trade were great, the traders would sell in the spring of the year, payment down, for less than one-half of the prices at which they charged the same articles to the same Indians on credit the preceding autumn. This was sometimes the occasion of broils and quarrels between the traders and the Indians, particularly when the latter made bad hunts.

The following are the prices charged for some articles given on credit to the Sauk and Fox Indians, whose present population exceeds six thousand souls and who are compelled to take goods, etc., of the traders at their very high prices, because they cannot do without them, for if the traders do not supply their necessary wants and enable them to support themselves, they would literally starve. An Indian takes on credit from a trader in the autumn—

A 3-point blanket at	\$10.00
A rifle gun	30.00
A pound of gunpowder	4.00
Total Indian dollars	\$44.00
The 3-point blanket will cost in England, say 16 shillings per pair	
1 blanket at 100 per cent is equal to	\$ 3.52
A rifle gun costs in this place from \$12 to	13.00
A pound of gunpowder20
	\$16.72
Add 25 per cent for expenses	4.18
	\$20.90

Therefore, according to this calculation (which I know is correct), if the Indian pays all his debt, the trader is a gainer of more than 100 per cent. But it must be here observed that the trader takes for a dollar a large buckskin, which may weigh six pounds, or two doeskins, four muskrats, four or five raccoons, or he allows the Indian three dollars for an otterskin, or two dollars a pound for beaver. And in my opinion the dollar which the trader receives of the Indian is not estimated too high at 125 cents, and perhaps in some instances at 150 cents.

In the spring the trader lowers his price on all goods, and will sell a 3-point blanket for five dollars, and other articles in proportion as he receives the furs down in payment, and as the Indians always reserve the finest and best furs for the spring trade. In the autumn of every year the trader carefully avoids giving credit to the Indians on any costly articles, such as silverworks, wampum, scarlet cloth, fine bridles, etc., unless it be to an Indian who he knows will pay all his debt; in which case he will allow the Indian on credit everything he wishes. Traders always prefer giving on credit gunpowder, flints, lead, knives, tomahawks, hoes, domestic cottons, etc., which they do at the rate of 300 or 400 per cent, and if one-fourth of the prices of those articles be paid, *he is amply* paid. After all the trade is over in the spring it is found that some of the Indians have paid all for which they were credited, others one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and some nothing at all; but taken altogether, the trader has received on an average one-half of the whole amount of Indian dollars for which he gave credit the preceding autumn, and calls it a tolerable business; that is, if the furs bear a good price the trader loses nothing, but if any fall in the price takes place he loses money.

The American Fur Company ought to be satisfied with the Indians, for they have monopolized all the trade, especially at the posts before mentioned. There is a man now in this city who receives annually a sum from that company on condition that he will not enter the Indian country.² They have also monopolized the whole trade on the frontiers together with the Indian annuities, and everything an Indian has to sell, yet they claim a large amount for debts due them for non-payment of credits given to the Indians at different periods.

TRADE TO AND WEST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

I visited this country as early as April, 1798, and in many conversations I had with the French people of this place, all

² It is difficult to imagine who this individual was, if not General William H. Ashley, the founder of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

that they could say on the subject of the Indian trade was that there were many Indian nations inhabiting the country bordering on the Missouri river who were exceedingly cruel to all the white people that went among them. The highest point then known up the Missouri river was Cedar Island, which is somewhere in the Arikara country. The Arikara, Mandan, Blackfeet, Crow, Arapahoe, Assiniboin, and other Indians were well known in those days (1800) to the Hudson Bay and Northwest Companies. Clerks belonging to those companies with their men would visit the Missouri annually at different places for the purpose of trading with the Indians.

After the arrival of Lewis and Clark from the Pacific, a company was organized at this place for the purpose of trading with the Indians up the Missouri river to its forks and higher if necessary. That company did not exist long, as it appeared they were deficient in management and understanding of their new business. After their dissolution a M^r. Manuel Lisa carried on a trade with the nations as high up as the Sioux Indians. He afterwards with others formed a company who extended their trade up the Missouri river to the Mandan villages. M^r. Manuel Lisa appeared quite sanguine of success, having the sole management of this company, and it is supposed by some people that if he had been well assisted by his partners, he might have done something; but all his endeavors fell to the ground, and he died some years ago, insolvent. M^r. Manuel Lisa and his partners followed the custom of employing men to hunt in the Indian country.

After the war with Great Britain commenced our Indian trade almost ceased to exist, except where it was continued by some few hunters who got up among the Indians and would, in the spring season, bring down a few furs; yet the Hudson Bay and the Northwest companies at the same time extended their trade, and sent hunting parties to different points on the Missouri river as also to the Rocky mountains. This kind of trade or business of hunting was con-

ducted on a small scale until General Ashley took it in hand about the year 1821 or 2, when he took a number of hunters up towards the mountains as also some goods to trade with the Indians.

In 1823 Gen^l. Ashley was attacked by the Arikaras. He then descended the Missouri river to Council Bluffs when Colonel Leavenworth went up (Gen^l. Ashley and party being in company) and severely punished the Indians for their audacity. After this Gen^l. Ashley took more men as hunters and more goods up towards the base of the Rocky mountains. About this time (say 1824-5) Gen^l. Ashley was nearly one hundred thousand dollars in debt, as I have been informed, since which he has paid off all his debts and has now an independent fortune.

Some years back Gen^l. Ashley extended his trade and hunting excursions west of the mountains, but he has since sold out to Messrs. Sublette, Jackson & Smith and now has nothing more to do with the business either of hunting or trading about the mountains. He brings on goods &c. from the eastward to this city and furnishes Sublette, Jackson & Smith with all they require and receives annually from them their furs in payment. Sublette & C^o. transport their goods by water from this place up the Missouri to the Little Platte, thence in wagons to a given point on the Missouri river east of the mountains, as also round a spur of the mountains to the waters of Columbia. From what I can learn, there is but little trading done on either side of the Rocky mountains by Sublette, Jackson & Smith. It is altogether by hunting that they collect so many furs.

In the Hudson Bay establishments on Red river there are many half-breeds who are altogether brought up to hunting. They were formerly provided with an outfit to hunt by some of the Hudson Bay trading establishments, so that they became well acquainted with all the country on each side of the Rocky mountains. From them the Hudson Bay Company collected much fur. But Gen^l. Ashley (as I have been told) has had the address to gain over many of those half-

breeds to the American concern, by which means the returns of fur to the Hudson Bay establishments have been much curtailed.

Messrs. McKenzie, Laidlaw and Lamont are three young Scotchmen, of whom the two former were once in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. But when that company and the Northwest Company joined their concerns together, about nine hundred clerks and men were dismissed that service. McKenzie and Laidlaw were among that number, and coming to St. Louis, they formed a concern with Lamont and others, calling themselves the Columbia Fur Company and trading under that firm. They were unsuccessful at the commencement and at one time were forty or fifty thousand dollars in debt, but one fortunate season of trade enabled them to pay off all their debts, leaving much money for themselves. After this they made arrangements with the American Fur Company for goods, and have been doing a good business ever since, so as to be now wealthy. Messrs. McKenzie & Co. send goods and hunters up the Missouri river from their establishments, toward the mountains, and from the knowledge McKenzie and Laidlaw obtained (during their employment in the Hudson Bay Company) of the country and Indians, they now trade with the Blackfeet and other Indians who always heretofore were in favour of the Hudson Bay Company. Perhaps it would not be exceeding the truth to say that half a million of dollars in furs are now annually brought down the Missouri river that formerly went to Hudson Bay, and it is the enterprising spirit of Genl. Ashley which has occasioned the change of this channel of trade.

All traders procure as much wild meat as possible from the Indians, but where this article is scarce they have the precaution to take provisions with them in the fall of the year as they go into the Indian country. I am informed that Mr. A. P. Chouteau has a very large farming establishment in the Osage country, where he raises every article of necessary food and in greater abundance than is necessary for himself,

his very numerous family and followers. Messrs. McKenzie & Co. have some domestic animals at their establishment; but the buffalo, elk, bear and deer (particularly the buffalo) are so numerous that they are never in want of provisions of the meat kind. Their corn they can obtain in abundance from the Arikara and Mandan Indians and they can be supplied with a little flour from St. Louis so that they can never be in want. It is said that Sublette, Jackson and Smith take with them some horned cattle, which they drive with their wagons and which serve for provisions until they reach the buffalo country.

It is impossible for me to ascertain the number of lives that have been lost on the routes to and from the Rocky mountains or Mexico. In the Indian country bordering on the frontiers no lives have been lost, according to my present recollection for the last fifteen years, except Findley and two others on Lake Pepin in the summer of 1824, and two men by the Winnebagos near Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1828. Smith (the partner of Sublette and Jackson) was killed this past summer on his way to Santa Fe, having gone that way with some goods.

I have no doubt that in most of the misunderstandings which take place between the whites and Indians in the interior of the Indian country, the fault is with the white people, except among the Comanches, or Hietans, as some call them. They are a roving, plundering, murdering nation.

The following are the names of the different nations of Indians who inhabit the country between this and the Rocky mountains and west of the Mississippi, viz., Sauks, Foxes, Sioux, Otoes, Iowas, Mahas, Pawnees, Paducas, Snakes, Shoshones, Delawares, Peorias and Kickapoos, and there may be others that I have never heard of, or having heard of, have forgotten.

TRADE TO MEXICO.

The trade to Mexico from this country is carried on by individuals. Sometimes two, three, or more individuals

will join their small adventures together, either at St. Louis or on the route, and sell them to the best advantage at Santa Fe or other places in Mexico, during the winter months. Those people who are inclined to go to Mexico, prepare by purchasing goods, wagons, mules, and horses and hiring of men. The whole cavalcade rendezvous at Independence, Jackson county, in this state, about the month of May. They then move off together after having formed such regulations among themselves as are deemed beneficial to the whole, which regulations continue in force on the whole route from this state to Santa Fe.

From what I can learn there is little or no danger between this and the supposed line dividing Mexico and the United States, unless the cavalcade fall in with a war party of Pawnees or Paducas on their way to war against the Comanches or Hietans (as some call them), and then if the party of whites have in number say 100 or 150 men, the Indians will not attack them, but will try every stratagem to steal their horses and mules, because those Indians know that when they have once got the horses and mules, the white people cannot get their wagons away, but will abandon them, whereby the Indians will get much booty. By this mode they have succeeded in more than one instance, and after carrying away what they can they destroy the balance both of the goods and wagons.

In May last upwards of two hundred men left Independence for Santa Fe and from what I am informed they did not meet with any difficulty either in going or returning. This was told me by a few who have returned. It appears that after the line above mentioned is crossed (in going outwards) the white people are more apt to fall in with the Hietans who follow the buffalo near the base of the mountains to the northward during the spring and summer months, and to the southward during the autumn.

Parties from this place on their arrival in the mountains, hide their goods and then they go into the settlements to make the necessary arrangements, after which, by means of

bribes, their goods are smuggled in. They then sell them so as to be here again about this time (October) or ensuing month with the returns, whatever they may be. I cannot form any idea, neither can I gain any information as to the amount of goods taken, or the number of men employed, in the annual trade to Mexico, and I am equally uninformed as to the amount of returns from that place. In August last Mr. Charles Bent set out from St. Louis with a number of wagons loaded with goods for Santa Fe and drawn by oxen. His party consisted of from thirty to forty men, and if he succeeds with his ox wagons the oxen will answer the triple purpose: 1st, drawing the wagons; 2nd, the Indians will not steal them as they would horses and mules; and 3^{rdly}, in cases of necessity part of the oxen will answer for provisions.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE
INDIAN NATIONS.

It is lamentable indeed for any one who has the least knowledge of Indians to observe that not only those who visit this place, but also those who have never been at any of the military posts, should have so little respect for the American people. In March, 1818, when I was at the city of Washington, I had several long conversations with Mr. Calhoun (then Secretary of War) on Indian affairs. I told him that it must appear strange to many people to perceive that we, as Americans, speaking the same language with the British, whose manners and customs were the same, exceeding them perhaps in our Indian expenditures, and having all the Indians residing within our own territories, still had not the same influence over them that the British had. Therefore (said I) there must be a fault somewhere. To this Mr. Calhoun replied, that I ought not to point out an evil without showing a remedy for it. I answered by saying that we ought to follow the same policy (so far as possible) towards the Indians that the British pursued with such success. The British government have a well-regulat-

ed Indian Department. No person is eligible for an Indian agency under that government unless he can speak some one of the Indian languages; for it is natural to suppose that a man understands at least the general manners and customs of all Indians if he has been among them long enough to learn any one of their languages, and they (the British) have brought their Indian affairs to a perfect system. But our government appoints young men to Indian agencies, generally from the interior of the United States, who, in all probability, have never seen more than three or four Indians together in the course of their lives, and those Indians perhaps civilized. When the old chiefs and warriors hear of the arrival of their new father (as they term the new agent) they call at the agency to see him, but the agent does not know what to say or do to them and perhaps does not give them a pipe of tobacco, or even a good or bad word. The Indians then go away dissatisfied, and consequently in cases of this kind, everything depends on the interpreter. If the interpreter is an honest man he may teach the agent something in the course of years; but on the contrary, if he is a designing man, and wishes that no one should share his influence, he will keep the agent and the Indians in continual broils and quarrels, and nothing being rightly done, the public service must suffer. Instead of trying to heal the old sores that have existed for the last fifty or sixty years between the American people and the Indians, the breach is made wider and fuel is added to the flame. I have been told that a young man who was appointed an Indian agent on the Missouri river cut off the ears of a half-breed who resided among the Sioux Indians because, being in a state of intoxication, he made use of some extravagant language disrespectful of the American people. Another agent on the Mississippi turned out of the guard-house an innocent Indian to other Indians, his enemies, who shot him down and butchered him in a horrid manner, in the presence of an American garrison of soldiers. Another Indian agent also invited some chiefs to a council, when a number of their ene-

mies arrived at the agency, organized themselves, descended the Mississippi river, attacked the chiefs and others who were invited, and on their way to the council, killed nine and wounded three out of sixteen persons. In my intercourse with the Indians for the last forty years I never found that coercive measures ever had any good effect with them, but that conciliatory measures always tended to produce every purpose required.

I am, &c.,

THOMAS FORSYTH.

The Honorable Lewis Cass,
Secretary of War, Wash-
ington City.

(Thomas Forsyth's Letter Book, 1822-33. Mss. Dept.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin.)

GENERAL ASHLEY'S METHOD OF MOVING PARTIES THROUGH
THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

In compliance with your request in relation to my manner of equipping and moving parties of men through the Indian country in the course of my general excursions to the Rocky mountains, I will observe that, as mules are much the best animals for packing heavy burthens, each man has charge of two of them for that purpose, and one horse to ride. The equipage of each horse or mule consists of two halters, one saddle, one saddle blanket, one bear skin for covering the pack or saddle, and one pack strap for the purpose of binding on the pack, and a bridle for the riding horse. One of the halters should be made light for common use, of beef hide, dressed soft; the other should be made of hide dressed in the same way, or tarred rope, sufficiently strong to hold the horse under any circumstances, and so constructed as to give pain to the jaws when drawn very tight. The rein of each halter should not be less than sixteen feet long. A stake made of tough, hard wood, about two inches in diameter, and two feet long, with an iron socket, pointed at one end to penetrate the earth, and at the

other end a band of iron to prevent its splitting, should be provided, to be used when in the prairies, with the halter last described. This stake, when well set in the ground, will hold any horse.

In the organization of a party of, say from 60 to 80 men, four of the most confidential and experienced of the number are selected to aid in the command; the rest are divided in messes of eight or ten. A suitable man is also appointed at the head of each mess, whose duty it is to make known the wants of his mess, receive supplies for them, make distributions, watch over their conduct, enforce order, etc., etc.

The party thus organized, each man receives the horse and mules allotted to him, their equipage, and the packs which his mules are to carry; every article so disposed of is entered in a book kept for that purpose. When the party reaches the Indian country, great order and vigilance in the discharge of their duty are required of every man. A variety of circumstances confines our march very often to the borders of large water courses; when that is the case, it is found convenient and safe, when the ground will admit, to locate our camps (which are generally laid off in a square) so as to make the river form one line, and include as much ground in it as may be sufficient for the whole number of horses, allowing for each a range of thirty feet in diameter. On the arrival of the party at their camping ground, the position of each mess is pointed out, where their packs, saddles, etc., are taken off, and with them a breastwork immediately put up, to cover them from a night attack by Indians; the horses are then watered and delivered to the horse guard, who keep them on the best grass outside and near the encampment, where they graze until sunset; then each man brings his horse within the limits of the camp, exchanges the light halter for the other more substantial, sets his stakes, which are placed at the distance of thirty feet from each other, and secures his horses to them. This range of thirty feet, in addition to the grass the horse has collected outside the camp, will be all-sufficient for him during the night. After these

regulations, the proceedings of the night are pretty much the same as are practiced in military camps. At day light (when in dangerous parts of the country) two or more men are mounted on horseback, and sent to examine ravines, woods, hills, and other places within striking distance of the camp, where Indians might secrete themselves, before the men are allowed to leave their breastworks to make the necessary morning arrangements before marching. When these spies report favorably, the horses are then taken outside the camp, delivered to the horse guard, and allowed to graze until the party has breakfasted, and are ready for saddling. In the line of march, each mess march together, and take their choice of positions in the line according to their activity in making themselves ready to move, viz.: the mess first ready to march moves up in the rear of an officer, who marches in the front of the party, and takes choice of a position in the line, and so they all proceed until the line is formed; and in that way they march the whole of that day. Spies are sent several miles ahead to examine the country in the vicinity of the route, and others are kept at the distance of a half mile or more from the party, as the situation of the ground seems to require, in front, rear, and on the flanks. In making discoveries of Indians, they communicate the same by signal or otherwise to the commanding officer with the party, who makes his arrangements accordingly. In this way I have marched parties of men the whole way from St. Louis to the vicinity of the Grand lake, which is situated about one hundred and fifty miles down the waters of the Pacific ocean, in 78 days. In the month of March, 1827, I fitted out a party of 60 men, mounted a piece of artillery (a four pounder) on a carriage which was drawn by two mules; the party marched to or near the Grand Salt lake beyond the Rocky mountains, remained there one month, stopped on the way back fifteen days, and returned to Lexington, in the western part of Missouri, in September, where the party was met with everything necessary for another outfit, and did return (using the

same horses and mules) to the mountains by the last of November, in the same year.

A FREE HUNTER'S BUSINESS ACCOUNTS.

The following seven exhibits, taken from many hundreds still among the Chouteau papers, will convey a good idea of the business transactions of the wilderness, and will show to what an extent the methods of business in the older and settled portions of the country obtained even in these remote sections where civilized man was yet almost an entire stranger. The particular person, whose accounts are here exhibited appears now and then in the narratives of that period and is believed to be the one for whom Gardiner river in the Yellowstone National Park is named.

COPY OF A FREE HUNTER'S CONTRACT.

Articles of agreement made and entered into at Fort Union, Upper Missouri, on the fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, by and between Kenneth Mackenzie, agent of the American Fur Company, and Johnson Gardner, citizen of the United States and free hunter in the Indian country—

The said Johnson Gardner hereby agrees to sell, and the said Kenneth Mackenzie agrees to purchase, all his stock of beaver skins now *en cache* on the Yellowstone river, at and for the price per pound net weight of four dollars twelve and a half cents, to be delivered by the said Johnson Gardner to the agent or servants of the said Kenneth Mackenzie on the spot where it is cached, the weight thereof to be regulated and adjusted by Francis A. Chardon and James A. Hamilton on its arrival at Fort Union, the number of skins being and the weight now considered to be The said Johnson Gardner further agrees to sell, and the said Kenneth Mackenzie agrees to purchase, all his stock of castorum at and for the price per pound of three dollars, the weight thereof to be adjusted by the parties aforesaid. The said Kenneth Mackenzie hereby further agrees to and with the

said Johnson Gardner to furnish and supply and equip two men to hunt and trap beaver for the fall and spring seasons next ensuing, at the entire charge and cost of the said Kenneth Mackenzie, to hunt and trap under the direction of the said Johnson Gardner; and the said Kenneth Mackenzie further agrees to furnish a third man, and at his cost and charge to supply a moiety or one-half of the requisite, necessary and usual equipment for a beaver hunter, and the said Johnson Gardner hereby agrees to supply the said third man with the other moiety or half part of the needful equipment usual for a beaver hunter, and it is hereby agreed by and between the said Kenneth Mackenzie and the said Johnson Gardner that an entire moiety or half part of the beaver skins and castorum killed, taken and secured by the united skill and exertions of the said Johnson Gardner and the said three men to be furnished as aforesaid shall be the just and lawful share of the said Kenneth Mackenzie, the other moiety or half part to be the just and lawful share of the said Johnson Gardner, and it is further agreed that the said moiety or half part which shall become the property of the said Johnson Gardner shall be purchased of him by the said Kenneth Mackenzie at and for the price of three dollars fifty cents per pound for beaver skins taken and secured in the fall approaching, and four dollars per pound for beaver skins taken and secured in the spring following, and three dollars per pound for castorum. Signed, sealed and delivered by the said Kenneth Mackenzie and said Johnson Gardner at Fort Union the day and year first above written.

In the presence of
J. A. HAMILTON.

KENNETH MACKENZIE,
Agt. U. M. O.
his
JOHNSON X GARDNER.
mark

COPY OF AN ACCOUNT CURRENT BETWEEN JOHNSON GARDNER AND THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.

“Mr. Johnson Gardner in account with the American Fur Company, U. M. O.

DR.			CR.		
1820-1833.	To Sundries advanced as per account A. . .	\$4,084.70	1831, July 12.	By 53 Beaver Skins at \$6.50, . . .	\$ 344.50
				“ 1 Otter skin, . .	2.50
			1832, July 21.	“ 206 Beaver skins — 278 lbs. at \$4 1/2,	1,146.75
				“ 1 Otter skin, . .	2.00
				“ 27 1/2 lbs. Beaver skin (at Fort Cass) at \$ 60-100	95.37
				“ Note on Smith, Sublette & Co.	1,321.48
			1833, June 30.	“ 16 Beaver Traps left at Fort Pierre, . . .	192.00
				“ Balance carried down, . . .	930.10
		\$4,084.70			\$4,084.70
1833, June 30.	To balance, . . .	\$930.10			

For Am. Fur Company,
J. ARCHDALE HAMILTON.
Fort Union, Sept. 12, 1833.

Copy of receipt for note referred to in above account current:

“\$1371.48.

Received of Johnson Gardner a note on Messrs. Smith, Sublette, and Jackson for thirteen hundred and seventy-one dollars forty-eight cents, which he wishes me to collect for him and be placed to his credit at 5 per cent interest, which I will endeavor to do if no unavoidable accident will happen to me or the note.

(Signed)

K. MACKENZIE.

The above is a true copy of the receipt.

Witness: S. P. WINTER.”

Copy of weigh-bill of beaver mentioned in above account current.

"FORT UNION, August 6, 1832.

We, Francis A. Chardon and J. Archdale Hamilton, hereby certify that we have carefully weighed two hundred and six beaver skins purchased by the American Fur Company of Johnson Gardner and declare the weight thereof to be two hundred and seventy-eight pounds, as witness our hands the day and year first above written.

(Signed)

F. A. CHARDON.

J. ARCHDALE HAMILTON."

Extract from Account "A" referred to in above account current.

" 1832.			
June 28	Your share of advances to Tullock & Co.		\$ 12 00
	Liquor 8.00, Feast 4.00	\$ 12 00	
29	Ditto 4.00	4 00	
30	Shirts 8.00, Pantaloons 5.00	13 00	
	Liquor 11.00, Feast 2.00	13 00	
July 1	Ditto 6.00, Suit of clothes 70.00	76 00	
	Knives 4.00, Powder .75, Shoeing horse 3.00	7 75	
July 2	Tobacco .75, Cow skin 1.00	1 75	
5	Liquor	3 00	
6	Ditto	12 00	
7	Ditto 10.00, Tea 2.00, Pork 2.00	14 00	
	Blanket 12.00, Vinegar 1.00, Axe 6.00	19 00	
	Sugar 1.00	1 00	
8	Thread 1.00, Biscuit 8.50	9 50	
	Salt 6.00, Pepper 4.00, Handkfs 4.00	14 00	
	Coffee 18.00, Tea 8.00, Sugar 24.00	50 00	
	File 1.50, Tin Pans 2.00, Kettle 5.00	8 50	
	Tin Cups 2.00, Knives 4.00, Awls 1.50	7 50	
	Tobacco 15.00, Sirsingles 6.00	21 00	
	Liquor 14.00	14 00	
9	Rice 4.00, Knife 2.00, Liquor and Keg 27.00	33 00	\$334 00
Total			<u>\$346 00"</u>

This amount seems to have been spent by Gardner while at Fort Union between spring and fall hunt. It is worth note that of this amount \$109, or about one-third, is for liquor and feasting.

COPY OF GARDNER'S SHIPPING BILL.

"Shipped in good order per bull boat *Antoine* four pack-
tons of beaver fur marked and weighing as follows:

No. 1	56 skins weighing	73 lbs. marked J G
" 2	50 " "	81 " " "
" 3	50 " "	76 " " "
" 4	50 " "	74 " " "
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	206	304 N. B. 1 Otter Skin.

Crossings of the Yellowstone,
July 18, 1832.

The above boat is bound for Fort Union."

COPY OF BILL FOR AN EQUIPMENT FOR FALL HUNT.

"Equipment for hunt, July 9th, 1832, viz.:

16	Traps 12.00					\$192 00
5	Horses 60.00					300 00
1	Horse in January, 1833					60 00
5	Saddles and apichemons					25 00
8	Trap springs 16.00, Flints 1.00					17 00
	Powder 9.00, Balls 12.00, File 1.50					22 50
	Knives 7.50, Kettle 5.00, Axe 3.00					15 50
	Wages of 3 men					750 00
						\$1382 00"

COPY OF A TRADER'S ENGAGEMENT.

"Before the subscribing witness personally appeared the undersigned Colin Campbell, who voluntarily binds and by these presents does engage himself to Pierre D. Papin, agent of Pratte, Chouteau & Co., for Sioux outfit on the following terms and conditions to say— The said Campbell engages himself to said Papin, agent for said Sioux outfit, for and during the term of two and a half years from the first of June one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

"The said Papin, agent as aforesaid, for services faithfully rendered, promises to pay the said Campbell the sum of three thousand six hundred and sixteen dollars lawful money of the United States. The said Campbell on his part binds himself to serve, obey and execute with fidelity

the orders or known wishes of his employers or any other persons entrusted with their business, to keep their secrets, make them acquainted with any thing which may come to his knowledge affecting their interest, and to do all such things as are usually done or ought to be done by a good and faithful clerk and trader.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hand and seals this eighth day of November one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six.

C. CAMPBELL, (Seal)"
[No signature.] (Seal)

Witness: JACOB HALSEY.

F.

LIST OF TRADING POSTS.

List of trading posts in the country west of St. Louis during the period from 1807 to 1843, with a few belonging to the periods before and after, and also a few military posts—The total number of posts referred to in this list is about one hundred and forty.

MISSOURI RIVER POSTS.

Fort Orleans. This was the first fort ever built on the Missouri river. In 1720 the Spanish sent an expedition of two hundred men to the Missouri to destroy the tribe of the Missouris who were friendly to the French. Their plan was to join the Pawnees, who were at war with the Missouris. They unfortunately lost their way and came first to the latter tribe. Supposing them to be Pawnees, the Spanish unfolded their scheme directly to their intended victims. The astonished Missouris did not acquaint them with their mistake, but made instant preparations, took the Spaniards by surprise, and destroyed the entire party.

As a result of this expedition the Louisiana government ordered the erection of a fort on the Missouri. The work was entrusted to M. Bourgmont, who built *Fort Orleans*, in 1772, on an island in the Missouri, some two hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. The actual location was about five miles below the mouth of Grand river, opposite the old village of the Missouris. The fort was the scene of considerable activity for several years, and from it M. de Bourgmont made an important expedition to the country of the Paducas in 1724. There is a tradition that when Bourgmont left the fort a year or two later to go down to New Orleans, the Indians attacked it and massacred every in-

mate. De Margry says that "*en 1726 la Compagnie des Indes supprima cette poste.*"¹

In the valley of the Osage river, and for the accommodation of the Osage Indians, there were several posts, but they are scarcely ever mentioned in the annals of the time. They played a quite insignificant part in the history of the trade. Among these may be mentioned Forts *Carondelet*, *Marais de Cygnes*, and *Pomme de Terre*.

Fort Osage, or *Fort Clark*, stood near the site of Sibley, Missouri, about forty miles below the mouth of the Kansas. General William Clark passed this point in 1808 with a troop of cavalry on his way to make a treaty with the Osages. He selected the site for a post on his return. Lewis and Clark, June 23, 1804, had noted it as a good site for a fort. The post was occupied off and on until 1827, but not continuously with a regular garrison. It was permanently abandoned on the founding of Fort Leavenworth. It was here that was located the only government trading factory west of the Mississippi. (See further, Part III., Chapter VI.)

Chouteau's Post, or the *Kansas Post*. This was first established by Francis G. Chouteau on an island three miles below the mouth of the Kansas river for the trade of the Kansas Indians. The great flood of 1826 washed it into the river, and Chouteau then went about ten miles up the Kansas river, where he would be safe from a similar calamity in the future, and built a post on the right bank of the river. It was maintained for many years.

French Fort. This post is noted by Lewis and Clark in 1804, and by Doctor James in 1819 as being in ruins. It was on the Kansas shore, opposite the upper end of Kickapoo Island, back on the bluffs and in rear of an old village of the

¹ "There was a French post for some time on an island a few leagues in length over against the Missouris. The French settled in this fort at the east point [of the island] and called it Fort Orleans."—Du Pratz.

Kansas Indians. Whether built as a trading post or a military fort is unknown. Bogy in his history of Missouri says that "the French government had a regular post and officer at [near?] the mouth of the Kansas river."

Camp Martin was a name given to a winter cantonment of United States troops at Isle à la Vache during the winter of 1818-19. The troops were a part of the Yellowstone Expedition and were commanded by a Captain Martin.

Leavenworth Fort. For circumstances of early history of this post see Part III., Chapter VI.

Blacksnake Hills, a post established by Joseph Robidoux where the city of St. Joseph now stands. Audubon in 1843 uttered the following prediction concerning the situation: "I was delighted to see this truly beautiful site for a town or city, as will be, no doubt, some fifty years hence."

Nishnabotna. In 1819 Robidoux, Papin, Chouteau, and Berthold, trading with a capital of \$12,000, had their principal establishment near the mouth of this stream. Name variously spelled.

Council Bluffs. This name, though not specifically applied to any post, denoted a locality where many trading posts have been built. It was one of the most important points on the whole course of the Missouri and was resorted to by traders from the very commencement of the fur trade on the upper river. The meeting of the two great valleys, the Missouri and the Platte, which was in this vicinity, had something to do with the importance of the place. The particular situation always known in those early years as Council Bluffs was twenty-five miles above the modern city of that name, and on the opposite side of the river about where the little town of Calhoun is now located. On the 3rd of August, 1804, Lewis and Clark held a council there with the Oto and Missouri Indians and gave the name from this circumstance. In the course of the next fifty years there were probably not fewer than twenty posts established between this point and the mouth of the Platte, but all are now swallowed up in the great cities that have taken

their places on both sides of the river. It is impossible now to recover the names of all, or the locations of some whose names are known. Even those which are best known it is difficult to locate precisely.

Crooks and McLellan's post in 1810 was on the west bank of the river a little above the mouth of Papillon creek and therefore near the later site of Bellevue. It was broken up in the spring of 1811 when its proprietors entered the service of the Pacific Fur Company.

Bellevue. This was an important place during most of the fur-trading era and promised at one time to be the progenitor of the future city which was bound to arise in that vicinity. The early history of Bellevue is exceedingly obscure. Some authorities say that Lisa built the first post there in 1805 and gave it its present name. This is a mistake. Crooks and McLellan seem to have been the first to locate near there. The next occupant was the Missouri Fur Company under Joshua Pilcher, who must have moved down there soon after Lisa's death. Fontenelle and Drips apparently bought Pilcher's post and established it in their own name, which it retained for many years. At a date between 1830 and 1840, which is not exactly known, the American Fur Company moved to Bellevue from Cabanne's post some distance above, and established a new post there under the management of P. A. Sarpy. The Indian agency of John Dougherty was also located near there at about the same time. The agency was at Côte à Quesnelle just above the American Fur Company post.

Fort Croghan, a military post of temporary character which stood a little above the present Union Pacific bridge in Omaha. When it was established is uncertain, but it was abandoned in the fall of 1843.

Cabanne's Post was located near the old site of Rockport, nine or ten miles (by land) above the Union Pacific bridge in Omaha and six or seven miles below Fort Calhoun. It was established between 1822 and 1826 for the American Fur Company by J. P. Cabanne, who remained in charge

until 1833, when he had to leave the country on account of the Leclerc affair. Pilcher succeeded him, and the post was later moved down to Bellevue. The Columbia Fur Company also had a post near here which was absorbed by Cabanne's establishment in 1827.

Fort Lisa was located about a mile above Cabanne's post and five or six miles below old Council Bluffs. It was founded by Manuel Lisa as early as 1812 and it continued to be occupied as late as 1823. During this period it was the most important post on the Missouri river. It commanded the trade of the Omahas, Pawnees, Otoes, and other tribes.

Engineer Cantonment, "about half a mile above Fort Lisa, five miles below Council Bluffs, and three miles above the mouth of Boyer river" (James), was the winter encampment of Major Long's scientific party in 1819-20.

Camp Missouri was the winter encampment of the troops attached to the Yellowstone expedition of 1819-20. It was located at the old Council Bluffs and on or near its site was built the post which for several years after was known as

Fort Atkinson. It was abandoned in the spring of 1827. The post formed a quadrangle with the usual bastions or block houses at two opposite corners.

Fort Calhoun is the name which has succeeded to that of Fort Atkinson in the history of this locality and survives in the name of a little village near by. How it came to be applied to this post is not very well understood.

Cruzatte's Post, an early trading establishment two miles above old Council Bluffs, built in 1802. (Lewis and Clark.)

Fort Charles was an old trading post which stood about six miles below the present Omadi, Nebraska. It was occupied in 1795-6 by a Mr. McKay. (Lewis and Clark.)

Pratte and Vasquez, in 1819, had a trading post at the Omaha village a considerable distance above Council Bluffs, possibly at the old village above Blackbird Hill nearly oppo-

site the modern town of Onawa, Iowa. The exact location is nowhere stated.

Big Sioux Post, an American Fur Company post at one time maintained near the mouth of the Big Sioux river by one Laframboise.

Vermillion Post was an important trading post for the convenience of the lower Sioux tribes. It was located just below the mouth of the Vermillion river about on the present line between Clay and Union counties, South Dakota. Another Vermillion fort of earlier date and sometimes called

Dickson's Post stood on the north bank of the river about half way between the Vermillion and the James. The Columbia Fur Company also had a post there.

Rivière à Jacques. The Columbia and American Fur Companies had establishments at this point for the trade of the Yankton band of the Sioux.

Ponca Post was established for the trade of the Indians of this name. It was just below the mouth of the Niobrara. The Columbia Fur Company also had a post here.

Fort Mitchell. This post was established in 1833 by Narcisse Le Clerc and named for D. D. Mitchell. It was abandoned four years later, and for several years furnished excellent fuel for steamboats until the old palisades were all used up.

Handy's Post was situated on the west bank of the Missouri where Fort Randall later stood. Very little is known of its history.

Trudeau's House, also called Pawnee House, was an establishment occupied by one Trudeau in the years 1796-7. It was on the left bank of the river a little above and opposite the site where Fort Randall later stood.

Fort Recovery was located at the lower end of American or Cedar Island a mile below the modern city of Chamberlain, South Dakota. This post was established in 1822 by the Missouri Fur Company which then included the prominent traders, Pilcher, Charles Bent, Fontenelle, and Drips. It was also called Cedar fort and may have been first so

named. This may have been the site of the old Missouri Fur Company post which burned in 1810 and the fact of its reestablishment may have given it its name. Leavenworth in 1823 refers to it as a post "called by the Indian traders Fort Recovery and sometimes Cedar fort."

"*Fort Brasseaux*" was located in this vicinity, or possibly ten or twenty miles above. The only reference to it that has fallen under the author's notice is in a letter by Gen. Ashley dated at this post July 19, 1823, written to Major O'Fallon, Indian agent, in regard to the Aricara campaign then in progress.

Fort Lookout was a post of the Columbia Fur Company and must have been built as early as 1822. Near it was

Fort Kiowa, belonging to the American Fur Company and also built as early as 1822, or immediately after the Western Department went to St. Louis. The sites were so close together that early references confused the two more or less. They were situated on the right bank of the Missouri some ten miles above where Chamberlain, South Dakota, now stands. The journal of the Yellowstone expedition of 1825 says of the American Fur Company post: "Fort Kiowa consists of a range of log buildings containing four rooms, a log house and a storehouse forming a right angle, leaving a space of some thirty feet. At the south corner of the work is erected a block-house near which stands a smith's shop. At the north corner is erected a small wooden tower. The whole work is enclosed by cottonwood pickets. The sides or curtains of the work are 140 feet each." Referring to Fort Lookout in 1833, when it was used as an Indian agency, Maximilian says that it "is a square of about sixty paces surrounded by pickets twenty or thirty feet high [!] made of square trunks of trees placed close together." The buildings consisted of three block-houses.

Sublette and Campbell had a house near here in 1834.

Fort Defiance was built by Harvey, Primeau and Company about 1845-6. They were ex-clerks of the American

Fur Company, bold and energetic men, who had set up an opposition on their own account in *defiance* of the American Fur Company. The location is on the right bank of the Missouri about six miles above the upper end of the Great Bend, near the mouth of Medicine Creek. This was also called Fort Bouis from one of the firm.

Cedar Fort, or *Fort aux Cèdres*, is a name which was applied to at least two different posts on as many Cedar Islands in the Missouri river. Their history is confused and uncertain. We have noted one already. The oldest one was at one time known as

Loisell's Post and was probably the first trading establishment built in the Sioux country along the Missouri river. It was about thirty-five miles below Fort Pierre. Loisell was in possession in 1803-4. The post was 65 to 70 feet square, with the usual bastions. The pickets were about 14 feet high. There was a building inside 45 x 32 feet divided into four equal rooms. This was probably the real Fort aux Cèdres which is so known in the narratives of the times. Several authorities speak of it as an old Missouri Fur Company trading post, but if so it was possibly the one which burned in the spring of 1810, for no such post is mentioned by Bradbury or Brackenridge in 1811, or by Leavenworth in 1823.

Fort George, a post belonging to Fox, Livingston and Company, 21 miles below Fort Pierre, on the right bank of the Missouri. It was built by Ebbetts and Cutting, agents of the firm, in 1842. The post was probably not occupied more than three or four years, for Fox, Livingston and Company did not remain long in the country.

Teton River posts. The mouth of the Teton river (first called Little Missouri and now Bad river) was the most important locality in the Sioux country. At this point the Missouri river, after a long southerly course, turns abruptly east and continues in this direction for many miles, gradually bearing off to the southeast. This bend was nearest of any point on the river to the Black Hills and the upper Platte

country. It therefore became a natural shipping point for all the region round about. The local situation was ideal. A fine bottom about a mile wide and six miles long lay along the right bank of the Missouri river immediately above the Teton. The treeless bluffs were so far back that hostile bands of Indians could not approach the fort unobserved. The bottoms were fertile and afforded a camping ground for Indians, and grazing for stock.

Who built the first post here is not known, but very likely it was the original Missouri Fur Company. It is hardly probable that they would have overlooked so important a situation. The earliest definite record is that of

Fort Tecumseh, which stood two or three miles above the mouth of the Teton. It was the principal establishment of the Columbia Fur Company upon the Missouri and was probably established in 1822. It was turned over to the American Fur Company December 5, 1827, with an inventory of property amounting to \$14,453. It retained its name for five years after this event and was managed by William Laidlaw, one of the old Columbia Fur Company men. In the course of time the river began to cut into the bottom where the fort stood and necessitated the rebuilding of it in a less exposed situation. The new site was 3 miles above the mouth of the Teton and back about a quarter of a mile from the Missouri. Work was begun in 1831 and a large part of the lumber was manufactured during the following winter. The erection was so far completed in the spring of 1832 that on the 15th of April Mr. Laidlaw and Mr. Halsey, the clerk, moved into it. Work was continued on it during the summer and the full change was not accomplished before the end of the season. On the occasion of the visit of the steamboat *Yellowstone* between May 31 and June 5, 1832, with Mr. Pierre Chouteau on board, the new post was christened

Fort Pierre, in honor of the distinguished visitor and representative of the house at St. Louis. The new post was 325 by 340 feet and contained about two and a half acres of

ground. It was one of the finest on the river and was the most important establishment except Fort Union.

The Navy Yard or *Chantier* of Fort Pierre was located some distance above, probably near Chantier creek. It was here that boats and lumber for the post were manufactured.

Teton Post is a name which may be used to designate a post belonging to the firm of P. D. Papin & Co., which Maximilian calls the French Fur Company. The members of the company were Papin, the Cerre brothers and Honore Picotte. The post was probably built about 1828 or 1829. It stood just below the mouth of the Teton. The firm sold out to the American Fur Company and entered its service October 14, 1830, and the property was at once moved up to Fort Tecumseh.

Sublette and Campbell commenced erecting an opposition post a "little below old Fort Tecumseh" October 17, 1833. The post continued to do business only a year when it was sold to the American Fur Company.

Scattered through the Sioux country on both sides of the Missouri there were many subordinate posts or houses of the American Fur Company dependent upon Fort Pierre. There were no fewer than three in the valley of James river (*Rivière à Jacques*). There was one at the forks of the Cheyenne, another at its mouth, one at the Aricara villages and others on Cherry, White and Niobrara rivers, and among the Brulé, Ogallala and other bands of the Sioux. In fact wherever there was an inducement to trade these temporary houses were erected.

Old Fort George was below but near the mouth of the Cheyenne river. Nothing further is known of it.

Aricara Post. Manuel Lisa had a post in this vicinity, but its exact location or particular name is not known.

Fort Manuel was on the west bank of the river—just above latitude 46° N.

The *Mandan Villages* were another important locality and the site of several posts. The course of the river here changed from a general easterly direction to one nearly due

south. It was the point nearest the Red river settlements, and was the home of the Mandan and Minnetaree Indians.

Fort Mandan, the first structure built here, was the winter quarters of Lewis and Clark in 1804-5. It stood on the left bank of the Missouri 7 or 8 miles below the mouth of Big Knife river and opposite, though a little above, the site where Fort Clark later stood.

Lisa's Fort was the next one built in this locality. It was situated on the right or south bank of the river some ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Big Knife near where the names Emanuel Rock and Emanuel Creek now are. The post was abandoned upon the breaking out of the War of 1812, but was occupied by Pilcher in 1822 or 1823 under the name of *Fort Vanderburgh*.

Sublette and Campbell had a post in 1833 a little below this point.

Tilton's Fort was built by James Kipp in 1822 for the Columbia Fur Company. It was on the opposite side of the river from the Mandan villages and a little above the site of Fort Clark. Being driven from this position in 1823 by the Aricaras he crossed and established a house in the

Mandan Villages. In the winter of 1825-6 Kipp went to the mouth of

White Earth river, 140 miles above, and built a post for the Assiniboine trade. This post passed into the hands of the American Fur Company in 1827 with the rest of the Columbia Fur Company posts. In 1830 McKenzie ordered the erection of a new post for the Mandan trade and Kipp was put in charge of the work. It was built in the spring of 1831 and was named

Fort Clark, for General William Clark. It was on a bluff in an angle of the river and on its right bank, 55 miles above the N. P. R. R. bridge at Bismarck, N. D. The post was 132 by 147 feet, on the typical plan, and was a substantial structure. It ranked as one of the most important posts on the river.

The Mouth of the Yellowstone was the next important

point above the Mandans and several posts sprang up here during the fur trade. It does not appear that the Missouri Fur Company ever established a post here, although it is not easy to understand why they did not. The first post was built by

Ashley and Henry in 1822 on the tongue of land between the two rivers about a mile above the junction and next to the Missouri. It was abandoned in the fall of 1823. In 1825 three sides of the stockade and a part of the buildings were still standing.

No other attempts were made to establish a post in this vicinity until 1828, when Kenneth McKenzie, then the leading partner in the "U. M. O." sent a party to the mouth of the Yellowstone to build a post. They probably commenced work about October 1 of that year. This post seems to have been named

Fort Floyd, while the name

Fort Union was applied to another post two hundred miles farther up. The name Union was, however, soon transferred to the mouth of the Yellowstone, and the advanced post was abandoned. Maximilian says that Union was begun in 1829.

There is some confusion in regard to the establishment of the important post of Fort Union, and to enable the reader to draw his own conclusions the correspondence of the American Fur Company relating to the subject will be reproduced here. McKenzie wrote to Chouteau from the Vermillion river October 2, 1828, that he had just returned with Indian Agent Sanford from the Mandans; that four days before he left, the keelboat *Otter* had left for the Yellowstone to establish a post for the Assiniboine trade. And in a letter from Fort Tecumseh December 26, 1828, he said: "The *Otter* arrived at the Yellowstone in sufficient time to build a fort and have all necessary preparations made for security." This establishes the fact that a post was built at the Yellowstone in 1828 and fixes October 1st as pretty close to the actual date of commencement.

In a letter written at Fort Tecumseh March 15, 1829, McKenzie says: "Your favor of the 5th of December reached me on the 25th ult., the date of my arrival from Fort Floyd near the Yellowstone"; and again in the same letter, "Old Glass came to Fort Floyd last fall." In a letter to W. B. Astor April 19, 1830, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., says: "A mon arrivée ici [St. Louis] le 16, j'ai trouvé des lettres de Mr. McKenzie du 28 December, 1829, et de 2 et 20 Janvier, 200 milles au dessus de la Roche Jaune. Les chasseurs des montagnes n'avaient pas aussi bien réussi dans la chasse d'automne qu'il espérait, mais il espérait un meilleur succès pour le printemps. Il est d'opinion qu'il fera beaucoup plus de robes cette année que de coutume; c'est à dire dans les trois posts d'en haut, chez les Mandans, à l'embouchure de la Roche Jaune, et Fort Union 200 milles audessus, et il dit que le pays du haut est très rich en castors et robes." Taken as they read these extracts mean that there were three posts on the upper river in 1829, the Mandan post, Fort Floyd and Fort Union 200 miles farther up.

The only clue to the origin of the name "Union" that has come to our notice is in a letter from McKenzie in which he discusses the trade situation and his desire to fix upon some point at which he can unite all the routes of trade. "Keeping in view a union at some convenient point above with the free hunters," he thought that he could control the trade both of the rivers and of the mountains.

Fort Union was the best built post on the Missouri, and with the possible exception of Bent's fort on the Arkansas, the best in the entire West. It was 240 by 220 feet, the shorter side facing the river, and was surrounded by a palisade of square hewn pickets about a foot thick and twenty feet high. The bastions were at the southwest and northeast corners, and consisted of square houses 24 feet on a side and 30 feet high, built entirely of stone and surmounted with pyramidal roofs. There were two stories; the lower one was pierced for cannon and the upper had a balcony for better

observation. The usual banquettes extended around the inner wall of the fort. The entrance was large and was secured with a powerful gate which in 1837 was changed to a double gate on account of the dangerous disposition of the Indians owing to the smallpox scourge. On the opposite side of the square from the entrance was the house of the bourgeois, a well-built, commodious two-story structure, with glass windows, fire-place and other "modern conveniences." Around the square were the barracks for the employes, the store houses, work shops, stables, a cut stone powder magazine capable of holding 50,000 pounds, and a reception room for the Indians. In the center of the court was a tall flag staff around which were the leathern tents of half-breeds in the service of the company. Near the flag-staff stood one or two cannon trained upon the entrance to the fort. Somewhere in the enclosure was the famous distillery of 1833-4. All of the buildings were of cottonwood lumber and every thing was of an unusually elaborate character. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, when he visited Union in 1833, declared that he had seen no British post that could compare with it.

Fort Union always had a large complement of clerks, artisans, and engagés about and was the most extensively equipped of any of the posts.

It had the honor of entertaining numerous distinguished visitors, among whom were Catlin in 1832, Maximilian in 1833, and Audubon in 1843. (For a very elaborate and detailed description of the fort see *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. II., p. 180.)

Fort William was a fort belonging to Sublette and Campbell and was named for the former. It was located on the left bank of the Missouri opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone and on the site where Fort Buford was afterwards built. It was commenced August 29, 1833, and was abandoned when Sublette sold out to the American Fur Company a year afterward.

Fort Mortimer was Fort William resurrected under a new

firm, Fox, Livingston & Co., of New York. This event took place in 1842 and the post succumbed to the American Fur Company three years later.

Fort Assiniboine was a temporary post at a point some distance above Union where the steamer *Assiniboine* was caught by low water in the summer of 1834 and compelled to spend the winter. The intention probably was to make it an outpost of Union. It was 100 feet square and the buildings ranged round the interior were in all 134 feet long and 18 feet deep. The post was abandoned April 2, 1835, and Lamont, who was in charge, brought the property back to Union. It is not known how far above Union this post was located, but wherever it was it marks the first advance of steamboats beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Fort Jackson was built by C. A. Chardon in December, 1833, at the mouth of Poplar river (*Rivière aux Trembles*). Chardon had a force of twenty men with a strong equipment and built a post fifty feet square. The name was probably given for Andrew Jackson, for in a letter from this point Chardon says, "We are all Jackson men." McKenzie thus states the purpose of the establishment: "I consider it desirable to establish a wintering post west of this, partly for the convenience of the Indians who frequent that section, but principally with a view of compelling our opponents [Sublette and Campbell] to divide their forces, for the principle of divide and conquer has often been verified."

The next important point above the mouth of the Yellowstone was the Blackfoot country near the mouth of the Marias. Prior to 1831 no post had been successfully established in the country of these Indians. About October 1st of that year James Kipp commenced one on the left bank of the Missouri just above the Marias and called it

Fort Piegan in honor of the Piegan band of Blackfeet. The post was occupied only during the winter, when it was abandoned by Kipp, who went down the river with the returns. It was then burned by the Indians. In the spring of 1832 D. D. Mitchell went up the river and built a new

post about six miles above the mouth of the Marias on the left bank of the river and called it

Fort McKenzie. It stood 120 yards back from the river. It was 140 feet square and was built on the regular plan, but with an exceptionally strong gate provided with double doors.

In 1833 Alexander Culbertson selected a new site for a post on the right bank of the Missouri at the mouth of the Shonkin, but it does not appear that a post was actually built here.

Fort McKenzie was occupied as late as 1843, for there is extant a letter from William Laidlaw written at Fort Union December 5, 1843, in which the writer says that he has "lately heard from Mr. Chardon, who is in charge of Fort McKenzie at the Blackfeet;" and he adds that "the Blackfeet are getting more and more troublesome in consequence of certain retrenchments of liquor heretofore given them in their ceremonies, the discontinuation of which had become absolutely necessary for the better regulation of that post. They, however, are so much dissatisfied that Mr. Chardon says that he can not get out at the gate more than once a week." Tradition says that the hostile feeling of the Blackfeet was due to the wanton massacre of some of their number by Chardon and Harvey the winter before. In any event Chardon was compelled to move down stream into a different neighborhood and build a new fort. After he left, the Indians burned Fort McKenzie and the post was often referred to afterward as Fort Brulé. The site is known to this day as Brulé Bottom. (For a more complete description of this post see *Audubon and His Journals*, vol. II., p. 188; also the works of Maximilian, Prince of Wied.)

Fort Chardon was the name of the new post at the mouth of the Judith. It was probably built in the fall of 1843 — not before that. It was occupied only for a short time when Alexander Culbertson moved the establishment to a point on the right bank of the Missouri opposite Pablois Island, about 18 miles above where the Fort Benton bridge now

crosses the river. This event probably took place in 1845, and the new post was called

Fort Lewis, in honor of the explorer, Captain Meriwether Lewis. The situation proving unfavorable to the trade, the post was torn down in 1846 and rebuilt in a more favorable location farther down stream and on the left bank. The name Lewis was retained for several years. In 1850 the post was rebuilt of adobe and was dedicated amid grand festivities on Christmas day of that year. At the same time it was rechristened by Mr. Culbertson

Fort Benton, in honor of Thomas H. Benton, who had so often rescued the company from disaster. This noted post, situated at the head of navigation on the Missouri river, belongs to a later period than that covered by this work.

The Three Forks of the Missouri. The Missouri Fur Company built a large post here early in the year 1810. According to Lieut. James H. Bradley, who visited the site of the post in 1870, and could still make out enough from the ruins to trace the general outline, "it was a double stockade of logs set three feet deep, enclosing an area of about three hundred feet square, situated upon the tongue of land (at that point only half a mile wide) between the Jefferson and Madison rivers, about two miles from their confluence, upon the south bank of the channel of the former stream called Jefferson slough." (*Transactions of the Montana Historical Society*, vol. II.) The site was at that time mostly washed away by the river and is believed to be now entirely gone. The post was abandoned in the fall of 1810 owing to the persistent attacks of the Blackfeet. An anvil was left behind and remained on the site for upwards of forty years afterward and may now be in the bed of the river. With the lapse of years and the partial oblivion which overtook those early events, tradition linked this post with the expedition of Lewis and Clark, and it was the popular belief that these explorers passed a winter there. The post came to be known locally as "Lewis and Clark's fort." The only relic of this post still in existence is a letter written on the spot in

the spring of 1810. It is reproduced elsewhere in this work. (Appendix A.)

This completes the list of posts on the Missouri proper, but there were several important ones on the Yellowstone which were directly dependent upon Fort Union.

Braseau's Houses were on the left bank of the Yellowstone about 50 miles above the mouth. They were built by a well-known trader who flourished upon the upper river in the early years of the trade.

The Crow country was favored with numerous trading posts, the principal situation being at the mouth of the Bighorn river. The first post built here, and the first known to have been built above old Fort aux Cèdres on the Missouri was

Fort Manuel, Manuel's Fort, or Fort Lisa, built by Manuel Lisa in 1807. It was situated on the right bank of both rivers. In 1809 it passed into the hands of the Missouri Fur Company and was probably abandoned in the summer of 1811 when Henry came down the river after the abandonment of his post on the Snake.

Fort Benton was the second post built here, but whether upon the same site as Fort Manuel is uncertain. It was built by the Missouri Fur Company under Joshua Pilcher in 1822 and was abandoned in the following year.

Ashley and Henry built a post in this locality in the fall of 1823. It was abandoned probably in 1824.

Fort Cass. This was the first American Fur Company post in the Crow country. Its establishment is duly referred to in the American Fur Company correspondence. The following extracts from Wyeth's Journal of August 17 and 18, 1833, give the essential facts relating to it: "About 3 miles below the mouth of the Bighorn we found Fort Cass"; it "is situated on the east [right] bank of the Yellowstone river, is about 130 feet square, made of sapling cottonwood pickets with two bastions at the extreme corners, and was erected in the fall of 1832." It was built

by Samuel Tulloch and was often known as Tulloch's fort. It was abandoned in 1835.

Fort Van Buren was the second American Fur Company post on the Yellowstone. It was built in the fall of 1835 and named for the Vice President of the United States and was abandoned in 1843. It was on the right bank of the Yellowstone near the mouth of Tongue river.

Fort Alexander, the third Crow post of the American Fur Company, was built as early as 1839. Larpenteur says that it was built by himself in 1842, but it is mentioned in the company's license for 1839. The post was on the left bank of the Yellowstone opposite the mouth of the Rosebud. It was abandoned in 1850.

Fort Sarpy was the last of the Crow posts of the American Fur Company and was not built until after 1843. Its date was 1850; its name was for John B. Sarpy; it stood on the right bank of the Yellowstone about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Bighorn, and it was abandoned between September, 1859, and September, 1860. The post was 100 feet square, with pickets 15 feet high, but no flanking arrangements.

Fox, Livingston & Company built a post, probably in 1843, on the Bighorn river at the mouth of the Little Bighorn. It was soon abandoned.

There were many posts in the Missouri valley whose location is not known. Forts Volcano, Lucien and Madison are of the number, the last being in the vicinity of the Mandans.

In the letter books of the American Fur Company may still be seen applications for licenses to trade on the upper river, and from these we may form some idea of the development and gradual decline of its trade.

The posts received from the Columbia Fur Company in 1827 were Council Bluffs, Vermillion, Rivière à Jacques, Ponca, Tecumseh, and the Mandans.

In 1831 the "U. M. O." licenses were for Vermillion, Rivière à Jacques, Ponca, Lookout, Forks White river,

Tecumseh, Hollowood on Teton, Mouth Cheyenne, Little Cheyenne, Aricara villages, Heart river, Mandans, Mouth Yellowstone, Mouth Marias. It will be noted that Union, Clark, and Piegan are not yet mentioned by name. Fort Cass was first mentioned in 1833.

In 1839 the list included Vermillion, Sioux, Lucien, Pierre, John, Clark, Union, Alexander, Van Buren and McKenzie. The name Lucien has not elsewhere come to our notice. It was doubtless given in honor of Lucien Fontenelle to some post ordinarily mentioned by locality only. Fort John was the post on the Laramie to be described farther on.

In 1851 the company maintained Vermillion, John, Pierre, Clark, Berthold, Union, Alexander, and Benton.

In 1859 there were Pierre, Clark, Berthold, Union, Sarpy, and Benton.

CIS-MONTANE POSTS.

Under this heading will be considered those posts along the eastern base of the Rocky mountains which were not immediately dependent upon the Missouri river as their line of communication with St. Louis.

The *Portuguese Houses* stood very near the junction of the North and South Forks of Powder river, near where the military post of Fort Reno later stood. All we know of them is from the following extract from the report of Captain W. F. Raynolds, who explored the country around the sources of the Yellowstone in 1859 and 1860, and visited the site of these houses on the 26th of September, 1859. "After a ride of about 15 miles we came to the ruins of some old trading posts, known as the 'Portuguese houses,' from the fact that many years ago they were erected by a Portuguese trader named Antonio Matéo. They are now badly dilapidated, and only one side of the pickets remains standing. These, however, are of hewn logs, and from their character it is evident that the structures were originally very strongly built. Bridger recounted a tradition that at one time this post was besieged by the Sioux for forty days,

resisting successfully to the last alike the strength and the ingenuity of their assaults, and the appearance of the ruins renders the story not only credible but probable."

Fort William, named for William L. Sublette, was the first trading establishment ever built at what later became an important situation—the confluence of the North Platte and Laramie rivers. The work was begun with 13 men about June 1, 1834. (Wyeth.) "William L. Sublette has built such a fort as Fort Clark (Mandans) on Laramie Fork of the river Platte and can make it a central place for the *Sioux* and *Cheyenne* trade." (Fontenelle, Sept. 17, 1834.) "Fort Laramie was built in 1835 [1834] by Robert Campbell and was called Fort William." (Wislizenus, 1839.) The post was located on the left bank of the Laramie about a mile above its mouth. Sublette sold it to Fitzpatrick, Sublette and Bridger in 1835, and these gentlemen entered into relations with Fontenelle the same year, thus virtually turning the post over to the American Fur Company. The post was then, or soon after, rechristened

Fort John, for Mr. John B. Sarpy. Its early history is exceedingly obscure. In 1839 it was noted by Wislizenus as being rectangular in shape, 80 by 100 feet, surrounded by a palisade of cottonwood pickets 15 feet high, with flanking towers on three sides and a very strong gate. At this time the name Laramie was coming into popular use and gradually replaced "Fort John" in common usage, but the latter name alone was used in the business transactions of the American Fur Company.

Before 1846 another post was built about a mile farther up stream and to this the name

Fort Laramie was given. Fort John is said to have been demolished soon after. About 1849 the American Fur Company sold out to the government and moved some distance down the river. The famous military post of Fort Laramie then began its career and was for many years a principal base of operations against the hostile Indians.

Fort Platte was situated on the right bank of the Platte

in the tongue of land between the Platte and the Laramie and about three-fourths of a mile above the junction. It was built about 1840, for it receives no notice from Wislizenus in 1839, but was visited by Sage in 1841. Fremont in 1842 noted it as belonging to Sybille Adams & Company, but in 1843 it belonged to Pratte, Cabanne & Company. It probably lasted only a few years.

La Bonté was a temporary trading house on the Platte at the mouth of La Bonté creek. It was in operation in 1841.

In the valley of the South Platte, some thirty or forty miles below where Denver now stands, were several trading establishments whose history it is impossible to make out satisfactorily.

Fort Lupton stood on the right bank of the river about ten miles above the mouth of the St. Vrain. It was an adobe structure, the ruins of which are still visible.

Fort Lancaster was noted by Fremont in 1843 as being "the trading establishment of Mr. Lupton" and was apparently identical with Fort Lupton.

Fort St. Vrain was also on the right bank of the river and about opposite the mouth of the St. Vrain. It belonged to Bent and St. Vrain. This post was also known as

Fort George, and was in charge of Marcellus St. Vrain in 1841.

Between Lupton and St. Vrain there were two other posts at some indefinite time before 1842. Sage noted them in that year and Fremont two years later, and both speak of one of them as having been abandoned for a long time and the other as only recently abandoned. It appears that the lower of these two posts, which was about six miles above Fort St. Vrain, belonged to two traders by the names of

Locke and Randolph. They failed in their enterprise and abandoned their post in May, 1842.

The other post belonged to

Vasquez and Sublette. It was occupied in 1839 when Wislizenus passed it.

The valley of the Arkansas below the mountains was

always an important one in the fur trade, and there were many posts or houses, mostly of a temporary character, located here. The first habitation ever built here, so far as we have any knowledge, dates from some time prior to 1763, when a trader visited the Arkansas and built a temporary fort on its upper course near the foot of the mountains. The fact is recorded by Amos Stoddard in his *Sketches of Louisiana*.

In 1806 Lieutenant Pike built a small temporary redoubt on the south bank of the Arkansas, a little above the mouth of Fountain creek.

In all probability Chouteau and De Munn had a temporary house in this locality during their three years' stay there in 1815-17, but there is no record of it.

In the winter of 1821-2 Jacob Fowler built a log house on the modern site of Pueblo, Colorado, and occupied it for upwards of a month.

Gant and Blackwell built a post on the upper Arkansas, about six miles above Fountain creek, in 1832. Captain Gant is said to have been the first hunter to form friendly relations with the Arapahoes.

In 1842 a trading post was built at the mouth of Fountain creek. James P. Beckwourth claims that it was built under his direction in October of that year. Sage confirms the date of 1842, but simply says that it was built by "independent traders." He adds that it was called the "Pueblo." Other authorities mention George Simpson and his associates as builders of the post. By whomever built, the date seems clearly to have been 1842.

Wislizenus in 1839 found a small post called *Fort Pueblo* four miles above Bent's fort, "inhabited principally by Mexicans and Frenchmen." Farnham mentions the same post and calls it El Pueblo. He locates it five miles above Bent's fort on the north bank of the river.

There were in 1843 two posts in this locality, one on American soil and one on Mexican, from which smuggling operations, particularly in liquor, were carried on exten-

sively from Santa Fe to the trading posts farther north.

From these obscure and unsatisfactory references it is clear that there were, all through the period of the fur trade, small and transient trading houses in the valley of the Arkansas from Bent's fort to the mountains. None of them amounted to anything of note. The one post of importance in this entire section was the celebrated

Bent's Fort, or *Fort William*, which stood on the left bank of the river about half way between the present towns of La Junta and Las Animas, Colorado. The Bent brothers first built a stockade near the mouth of Fountain creek, but afterward moved down stream where they would be more in line with the trade between the United States and Taos on the mountain branch of the Santa Fe Trail. The fort was thus in touch with the trade of Santa Fe and that of the mountains. It was founded in 1829 and became a very important post. It was 150 by 100 feet in size, the longer sides extending north and south. The walls were adobe, about six feet thick at the base and 17 feet high. The entrance was through a large gate on the east side. At the northwest and southwest corners were cylindrical bastions or towers ten feet inside diameter and 30 feet high, loop-holed for musketry and cannon. The interior was divided into two parts, one of which was devoted to the buildings and the other to corrals, wagon sheds and material and stock generally. The buildings had clay floors and gravel roofs. In 1839 the fort had in its employ from 80 to 100 men. It was in full operation in 1843. In 1852 it was destroyed by Colonel William Bent, for whom it had received its name, Fort William.

Glenn's Post was a temporary trading house in the Osage country on the Verdigris river about a mile above its mouth. It was built by Hugh Glenn and was apparently abandoned in 1821, when Glenn joined Jacob Fowler in an expedition to Santa Fe.

TRA-MONTANE POSTS.

On the western side of the Continental Divide there were few American posts, and fewer still of any permanence or importance.

Robidoux's Post on the Gunnison stood on the left bank of that stream a short distance below the mouth of the Uncompahgre river.

Fort Uintah, built by the same Robidoux who built the post on the Gunnison, stood on the banks of the Uintah river some distance above the mouth of the Du Chesne and in the foot hills of the Uintah mountains. These were early posts although the dates of their establishment are not known. Robidoux was in the country as early as 1825. Fremont, who passed Fort Uintah in June, 1844, records that the fort was attacked shortly afterward by the Utah Indians and all its garrison massacred except Robidoux, who happened to be absent. If this is a correct report, it is the only instance of a successful attack by the Indians upon a trading post of the West.

Fraeb's Post, built by Henry Fraeb and James Bridger, stood on St. Vrain's fork of Elkhead river, itself a branch of Yampah river, Colorado. Fraeb was killed in the latter part of August, 1841, in a battle between his own party of sixty men and a war party of Sioux. The whites lost five men and the Indians ten. The post was probably abandoned soon after.

Fort Davy Crockett was an inferior trading post located in the beautiful valley of Brown's Hole on Green river and stood upon the left bank of the stream. Very little is known of it. As seen by Wislizenus in 1839 it was a low one-story building with three wings and was built of lumber and adobe. It was not surrounded with pickets. According to Farnham, who also saw it in 1839, it was a "hollow square of one story log cabins with roofs and floors of mud, constructed in the same manner as those of Fort William," on the Arkansas. It belonged at this time to three Americans by the names of Thompson, Craig and St. Clair. In the

closing years of the fur trade, just before the founding of Fort Bridger, it was a favorite rendezvous and wintering ground for the free trappers. The situation, however, despite the sublime natural environment, was wretched in the extreme, and the post was familiarly known among the trappers as "Fort de Misère."

Fort Bridger, which stood in the beautiful valley of Black's Fork of Green river, was one of the famous posts of the West. Its history, however, belongs to the emigration period and it was founded in the very year which has been designated as the dividing line between this period and that of the fur trade. It has the further distinction of being founded by one of the most noted characters which either period produced. Fortunately we have the founder's own account of the establishment of the post (Letter from James Bridger to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Dec. 10, 1843). It is as follows: "I have established a small fort with a blacksmith shop and a supply of iron in the road of the emigrants on Black's Fork of Green river which promises fairly. They, in coming out, are generally well supplied with money, but by the time they get there are in want of all kinds of supplies. Horses, provisions, smith work, etc., bring ready cash from them, and should I receive the goods hereby ordered will do a considerable business in that way with them. The same establishment trades with the Indians in the neighborhood, who have mostly a good number of beaver among them."

There is no more important landmark in the history of the West than the event thus described.

Fort Bonneville or *Bonneville's Fort* are names applied to a rude stockade which Captain Bonneville built on the right bank of Green river, five miles above the mouth of Horse creek, early in August, 1832. Though apparently commenced with a view of making it a trading post it was abandoned as soon as built and was never of any consequence whatever in the trade. The trappers called it "Fort Nonsense," or "Bonneville's Folly."

We are fortunate in having a detailed description of this

establishment from the pen of one who saw it during construction and the year following. It is from *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, by W. A. Ferris: "This establishment was doubtless intended for a permanent trading post by its projector, who has, however, since changed his mind and quite abandoned it. From the circumstances of a great deal of labor having been expended in its construction, and the works shortly after their completion deserted, it is frequently called 'Fort Nonsense.' It is situated in a fine open plain, on a rising spot of ground, about three hundred yards from Green river on the west side, commanding a view of the plains for several miles up and down that stream. On the opposite side of the fort, about two miles distant, there is a fine willowed creek, called Horse creek, flowing parallel with Green river, and emptying into it about five miles below the fortification. The view from the fort in one direction is terminated by a bold hill rising to a height of several hundred feet on the opposite side of the creek, and extending in a line parallel with it. Again on the east side of the river, an abrupt bank appears rising from the water's edge, and extends several miles above and below, till the hills, jutting in on the opposite side of the river, finally conceal it from sight. The fort presents a square enclosure, surrounded by posts or pickets of a foot or more in diameter firmly set in the ground close to each other and about fifteen feet in length. At two of the corners diagonally opposite to each other block houses of unhewn logs are so constructed and situated as to defend the square outside of the pickets and hinder the approach of an enemy from any quarter. The prairie in the vicinity of the fort is covered with fine grass, and the whole together seems well calculated for the security both of men and horses."

Ashley's Fort was a temporary trading house, said to have been built in 1825, on the west shore of Utah Lake near where Provo, Utah, now stands. It was to this point that Ashley is supposed to have hauled his wheeled cannon in 1826.

Fort Hall was built by Nathaniel J. Wyeth in the year 1834 on the left bank of the Snake river, a little above the mouth of the Portneuf. The circumstances of its founding have been fully outlined in the chapters on Wyeth's enterprise in Part II. of this work. Its history as a trading post is almost entirely associated with the Hudson Bay Company, to whom Wyeth sold it in 1836. It was an exceedingly important point during the emigration period, and later became a military post of considerable note.

Fort Henry was built by Andrew Henry in the fall of 1810 on Henry Fork of Snake river, near the mouth of the Teton, and probably near where the village of Egin, Idaho, now stands. It was abandoned by Henry in the spring of 1811, and was occupied for ten days by Hunt and the overland Astorians in October of that year. Nothing is known of it after this time. It consisted only of two or three log houses.

Camp Defiance "on the supposed waters of the Bonaventura" is the description of a trading locality mentioned by William L. Sublette in his application for a trading license for the year 1832.

Astoria was the Pacific Fur Company post on the Columbia river. For its history see the chapters on Astoria, Part II.

Fort William was a post established by Nathaniel J. Wyeth on the upper end of Wappatoo Island, at the mouth of the Willamette river, in the winter of 1834-5. It was occupied only for a short time. See chapter on Wyeth's enterprise, Part II.

This list will not describe the Hudson Bay Company posts which were located within what is now United States territory, for the reason that their history, except as related to the Astorian enterprise, is not a part of this work. There were nine of these posts besides Fort Hall—Vancouver, Nisqually, Simcoe, Walla Walla, Okanagan, Spokane, Flathead, Owen, Boisé, and possibly one or two others. Of these Okanagan, Spokane, and the Flathead post were founded by the Astorians.

G.

THE FORT TECUMSEH AND PIERRE JOURNAL.

Below are some extracts from the daily journal kept at Fort Tecumseh and its successor, Fort Pierre, which give as clear a picture as can now be had of the kind of life led at a fur trading post of the better class. The year is 1832.

"Saturday, [March] 3rd. Fair, pleasant weather. Mr. Laidlaw and the Indians went out to surround [hunt buffalo]. They returned at 1 P. M., having killed meat enough to load their horses.

"Sunday, 4th. Moderate and cloudy with rain at intervals. Gabriel V. Fipe and five Indians arrived from White river post with seven horses and mules and two hundred buffalo tongues. . . .

"Wednesday, 7th. Weather continues the same as yesterday. Several Indians of Gens de Poches band arrived on a begging visit. The Blackfeet Indians [Sioux band] who arrived yesterday left us today. One of them stole a kettle; we fortunately missed it before the fellow had proceeded far. Mr. Laidlaw and some Indians went out after them and succeeded in recovering the kettle. The Gens de Poches, who arrived today, say that Baptiste Dorion has been lately killed by a Sawon Indian; but we have reason to suppose the story to be fictitious. . . .

"Friday, 9th. A continuation of fair, pleasant weather. Five more lodges Yanctons arrived and camped. There is now about three feet of water on top of the Missouri ice. Two men arrived from Cedar island. They were obliged to leave their plank [for new fort] and trains on the way—the ice being so bad that they could not travel on it. . . .

"Tuesday, 13th. Still continue strong gales from the

north and colder, but the weather is now clear and the Indians are crossing on the ice in great numbers with robes to trade (Gens de Poches). . . .

"Friday, 16th. Strong north winds, cold and cloudy, with snow at intervals. Baptiste Defond arrived last evening from the Sawon post with horses and mules. . . .

"Sunday, 18th. Moderate and clear. Two Indians arrived from White river post with a letter from Mr. Papin, the commandant.

"Monday, 19th. Mild and clear throughout the day. Nothing new. Finished duplicate ledger.

"Tuesday, 20th. Still mild and pleasant weather. Employes making packs and pressing them. . . .

"Friday, 23rd. Still continues fine weather. Most of the lodges left us today. They have gone up the Little Missouri [Teton]. The Missouri ice broke up at this place today. . . .

"Wednesday, 28th. Same weather as yesterday. Ice still drifting a little. Missouri four feet above low water mark. Mr. Picotte and a voyageur arrived from the Navy Yard in a canoe. . . .

"Friday, 30th. Fine weather. Ice commenced drifting at 9 P. M., and the water rose about four feet from sunrise to sunset. In the morning Baptiste Defond departed down stream to meet the steamboat *Yellowstone*. . . .

"Tuesday [April], 3rd. Moderate and pleasant. Missouri still rising. It is now eight and one-half feet above low water mark. Last evening J. Jewett arrived here from the Ogallala post with horses and mules, in all sixteen.

"Wednesday, 4th. A continuation of fine, pleasant weather.

"Thursday, 5th. Same weather as yesterday. Messrs. Laidlaw and Halsey moved up with their baggage to the new fort [Pierre].

"Friday, 6th. Still fine and pleasant. Hands employed variously. Two men arrived from the Yankton post with three horses. They report the arrival of Mr. P. D. Papin

at the mouth of the White river with two skin canoes laden with buffalo robes.

"Saturday, 7th. Mr. William Dickson arrived from Rivière au Jacques with twelve packs furs.

"Sunday, 8th. Two men arrived from the Navy Yard with the news that the Indians have stolen all the company's horses at that place.

"Monday, 9th. Clear and moderate with north wind. Missouri falling fast. On the 6th inst. the water was so high that the old fort was nearly surrounded with water. Employed variously hauling property from the old fort, etc., etc. At 11 A. M. five skin canoes loaded with buffalo robes under charge of Colin Campbell arrived from the Ogallala post on Cheyenne river. They bring news of the murder of François Querrel by Frederick Laboue, the company's trader at Cherry river. Laboue arrived in the canoes. . . .

"Wednesday, 11th. Moderate north winds and pleasant. Several Sawons arrived last evening. The Missouri rising. . . .

"Friday, 13th. Strong northerly winds and pleasant. Mr. Dickson left for Rivière au Jacques. . . .

"Friday, 20th. We had a shower of rain in the morning. At 10 A. M. it cleared off. Hands employed variously. At 3 P. M. four men arrived from the Navy Yard. Buffalo in sight from the houses. Mr. Laidlaw and some Indians went out and they returned at 4 P. M., having killed four cows.

"Saturday, 21st. Calm and cloudy. Sent off Campbell and twenty-two men to Cherry river to bring down the peltries at that place.

"Sunday, 22nd. Clear and moderate winds from the northwest.

"Monday, 23rd. Fair, pleasant weather.

"Tuesday, 24th. Same weather as yesterday.

"Wednesday, 25th. A continuation of fine, pleasant weather. Nothing new.

" Thursday, 26th. Still fine, pleasant weather.

" Friday, 27th. Weather same as yesterday. At five o'clock P. M. Messrs. McKenzie, Kipp, and Bird with nine Blackfeet [Sihasapa] Indians arrived in a bateau from Fort Union. McKenzie brought down one hundred and eleven packs of beaver skins. . . .

" Wednesday, [May] 2nd. Cloudy with rain at intervals. Mr. Cerre arrived yesterday from the Yanctonnais with ninety odd packs robes. Hands employed making and pressing them.

" Thursday, 3rd. Clear and pleasant. Nothing new. Hands employed pressing packs, etc., etc. The Indians are now coming in every day to trade.

" Friday, 4th. Moderate and clear. Mr. Bird and the Indians returned from the Sawon camp. . . .

" Monday, 7th. Moderate winds and disagreeable rainy weather. Colin Campbell, with eleven skin canoes laden with buffalo robes, arrived from Cherry river. Mr. Campbell, while at Cherry river, disinterred the body of the deceased F. Querrel; and, as seven wounds were found in the body, Frederick Laboue was put in irons immediately on the arrival of the canoes. . . .

" Friday, 11th. Fair, pleasant weather. Sent off two men to the Rees with goods for the trade of those Indians. Pierre Ortubize and two men left in a skiff in search of the steamboat. Hands employed in making and pressing packs. . . .

" Monday, 14th. Clear and pleasant. Crossed sixty-four horses to the other side of the Missouri. At 4 P. M. had a thunder shower. Indians coming in from every quarter to trade. . . .

" Thursday, 17th. Clear and fine. Employed crossing horses for Fort Union, etc., etc. . . .

" Saturday, 19th. Still continues clear and pleasant weather. But no news of consequence. At 4 P. M. two men arrived. Halsey's child was born. . . .

" Monday, 21st. Clear and pleasant. Sent off twenty

men to the Navy Yard to cut timber and bring it down on rafts.

"Tuesday, 22nd. Fine, pleasant weather. Mr. Fontenelle, with twenty men and a number of horses, arrived here from St. Louis. They bring news of the steamboat *Yellowstone*. She is now between this place and the Poncas.

"Wednesday, 23rd. Cloudy with rain at intervals. Eighteen men arrived from steamboat *Yellowstone*. She is stopped for want of water about sixty miles below White river. William Dickson and family arrived from Rivière au Jacques. . . .

"Friday, 25th. Clear and fine. Baptiste Defond arrived from the steamboat at the Big Bend. Messrs. McKenzie, Fontenelle, and others left here in a keelboat to meet her. . . .

"Thursday, 31st. Same weather as yesterday. Missouri still rising. Four men arrived from White River post with horses, robes, etc. Steamboat *Yellowstone* arrived at 5 P. M. . . .

"Tuesday, [June] 5th. Fine and pleasant weather. Steamboat *Yellowstone* left here for Ft. Union. Water falling.

"Wednesday, 6th. Fine and pleasant weather. Mr. Fontenelle left here with forty odd men for Ft. Union and one hundred and ten or fifteen horses. Water rising. . . .

"Monday, 11th. Fine weather with south winds. Keelboat *Flora* left here for Fort Union with a cargo of merchandise, etc. Keelboat *Male Twin* left here for the Navy Yard to bring down timber.

"Friday, 15th. Hot and sultry the first part of the day. Keelboat *Male Twin* arrived from the Navy Yard. Latter part of the day we had a fine, refreshing shower. I forgot to say that four bateaux also arrived from the Navy Yard today. They, as well as the *Male Twin*, were loaded with pickets for the fort. . . .

"Sunday, 17th. Keelboat *Male Twin* and four bateaux

conducted by Mr. Honore Picotte left here for St. Louis loaded with 1,410 packs buffalo robes.

"Wednesday, 20th. Fine, pleasant weather with moderate southerly winds. The Missouri still rising. It is now nearly over the bank. Joseph Jewett, who left here on the 10th, arrived today from the Ogallalas with dry meat, lodges, etc. 480 lbs. dry meat was left here in the spring, but the wolves broke into the house and ate it all except about 20 pieces. . . .

"Sunday, 24th. Steamboat *Yellowstone* arrived from Ft. Union. Sent down 600 packs robes on board of her.

"Monday, 25th. Steamboat *Yellowstone* left us for St. Louis with a cargo of 1,300 packs robes and beaver. Mr. Laidlaw went on board. He is to go down as far as Sioux agency and return by land. Ortubize has got a keg of whiskey and is continually drunk himself and he tries to make as many of the men drunk as will drink with him.

"Sunday, [July] 1st. Messrs. Laidlaw and Dickson left us for Lac Traverse in quest of some Canadian Pork Eaters expected here this summer. Castorigi sick and off duty.

"Sunday, 8th. Same weather as yesterday, with the exception of a light shower in the morning. At 2 P. M. Messrs. Brown, Durand, and two Americans (all beaver trappers) arrived with about a pack of beaver.

"Monday, 9th. Fine weather; at 6 A. M. Henry Hart arrived from Ft. Union with three bateaux loaded with robes, etc. Loaded one boat with 120 packs beaver and other skins and put on board of another 30 packs of robes. She is to take on 120 or 130 packs at Yancton post.

"Tuesday, 10th. Strong gales from the north. Four bateaux ready to start for St. Louis, but they were detained here all day by the wind.

"Wednesday, 11th. Four bateaux laden with 355 packs buffalo robes and 10,230 lbs. beaver skins left here for St. Louis. They will take in 120 or 130 packs robes at Yancton

post. Water rising fast. It is now five feet above low water mark. . . .

"Thursday, 19th. Jewett and Ortubize returned from hunting, having killed two bulls. On their arrival on this side of the river, we discovered two more bulls on the opposite side, when we immediately recrossed them. At night they returned, having killed one more bull.

"Friday, 20th. Cloudy, and hot, sultry weather. Vasseau and two men belonging to Le Clerc Company arrived at the mouth of Teton river for the purpose of building and establishing a trading house there. Leclaire and a few men arrived here from Fort Lookout. . . .

"Sunday, 29th. Pleasant weather and light northerly winds. At 10 A. M., Mr. Laidlaw arrived on the other side from the east with 36 Pork Eaters. He lost two on the road. Employed the greatest part of the day crossing the men and their baggage. At 12 M. Cardinal Grant arrived from the Yancton post. . . .

"Thursday, August 2nd. Calm and pleasant. Plenty of buffalo. Mr. Laidlaw went out to hunt them and killed three. . . .

"Saturday, 4th. Four Brulé Indians arrived in search of a trader. They are encamped five days' march from this. . . .

"Monday, 6th. Baptiste Dorion, Charles Primeau, and Hipolite Neissel left here this morning with four Indians, who arrived on the 4th with Mdse., to trade meat, etc., etc. Sent up Ortubize to the Navy Yard (or shanty) [Chantier] to hunt for our men at work there. . . .

"Tuesday, 14th. Messrs. Catlin and Bogart arrived from Ft. Union on their way to St. Louis.

"Wednesday, 15th. A fine, pleasant day. Baptiste Dorion and G. P. Cerre arrived from the Brulé camps, with dry meat, robes, etc.

"Thursday, 16th. Light southerly winds. Mr. Catlin left us for St. Louis, accompanied by Mr. Bogart, in a skiff.

"Friday, 17th. A fine, pleasant day, with a refreshing

shower in the evening. In the early part of the day news was brought in of a band of buffalo not being far from the fort. Consequently a party went out to hunt them. Baptiste Dorion was one of the party; they all returned without killing any buffalo; but Dorion fell in with a Stiaago [?] Indian riding off with one of the Company horses. After a little scuffle he killed the Indian and we got back the horse. We suppose he was a Ree. Dorion did not fire at the Indian till he had fired two arrows at him.

"Saturday, 18th. Hot, sultry weather. Hands employed variously. Finished hay-making and have five mud chimneys under way. Brown arrived from the lumber yards, also two rafts of timber. . . .

"Tuesday, 21st. Weather as yesterday. At 11 A. M. Mr. Brown arrived from the lumber yards. Two of the men there, Louis Turcot and James Durant, having stolen a canoe and deserted last evening. Mr. Brown, with one man, left here in a canoe at 12 M. in pursuit of them. Several lodges, Yanctons and Esontis [?] arrived on the other side the Missouri and camped there.

"Thursday, 23rd. Fine weather. Mr. Brown arrived with the two deserters, Turcot and Durant. He caught them in the middle of the Big Bend.

"Friday, 24th. A continuation of fine, pleasant weather. Twelve or thirteen lodges Indians crossed the river and camped alongside of us. Commenced planting the pickets of the fort. . . .

"Sunday, Sept. 9th. Southerly winds and pleasant weather. The prairies are on fire in every direction. G. P. Cerre arrived from the Sawon Camp. . . .

"Monday, 24th. Laidlaw, Halsey, Campbell, Demaney, and an Indian left for Sioux agency, near Fort Lookout, and on

"Sunday, the 30th, they returned, accompanied by Dr. Martin, who visits this place for the purpose of vaccinating the Indians. Messrs. McKenzie and Fontenelle, with several others, arrived from Ft. Union in a bateau, having

on board about 6,000 lbs. beaver skins. In the evening Wm. Dickson arrived from River Bois Blanc in quest of Mdse. for the trade there."

H.

JOURNAL OF A STEAMBOAT VOYAGE FROM ST. LOUIS TO FORT UNION.

The journal which follows, like that which has just been given, affords a better idea of one of the peculiar features of fur trade life than can be had in any other way. The navigation of the Missouri river was a science *sui generis*. The reader will note especially the hourly presence of serious obstacles, such as sand bars and snags; the great annoyance from winds and storms; and the overshadowing importance of the wood question. He will also note how few of the old river names still survive, and how many "forts" or trading houses were then in existence whose very names are now utterly forgotten.

The following statistics show the rate of speed made by the vessels whose annual voyages are recorded in the Sire Journal. The distance from St. Louis to Fort Union was about 1,760 miles:

In 1841	the trip up consumed 80 days and the trip down 21 days.
In 1842	the trip up consumed 76 days and the trip down 22 days.
In 1843	the trip up consumed 49 days and the trip down 15 days.
In 1844	the trip up consumed 54 days and the trip down 16 days.
In 1845	the trip up consumed 42 days and the trip down 15 days.
In 1846	the trip up consumed 44 days and the trip down 31 days.
In 1847	the trip up consumed 40 days and the trip down 14 days.

The trip of 1847 was the shortest both ways of those here given. The average daily speed up was 44 miles; down, 123 miles.

LOG OF STEAMBOAT OMEGA, from St. Louis to Fort Union,
1843.

JOSEPH A. SIRE, Master.

JOSEPH LA BARGE, Pilot.

Among the passengers were the Naturalist Audubon and party.

(Translated from the original French.)

April 25. Tuesday. Left St. Louis at 11 A. M. Water high but falling slightly. Current strong. We make slow progress. Reach St. Charles at 4 o'clock next morning, when we put Sarpy on shore, who returns to St. Louis.

April 26. Wednesday. Set out at 6 A. M. Current still strong. Took wood twice. The steamboat *Rowena* passed us at the entrance to the channel along Bonhomme Island. Met the *Troja* at *Leve Cul*. Camped at South Point at 8:30 P. M. The river is undoubtedly in fine condition for night running; but it is dark and the weather threatening. Moreover, we have too much to lose to risk our cargo for the sake of gaining a little time.

April 27. Thursday. Set out rather late. At times our progress was very slow. It was 9 P. M. when we passed Portland. As the weather is clear we run all night. Passed the mouth of the Osage at day-break.

April 28. Friday. The current still strong and the river rising. Passed Jefferson City, where we met the *Mary Tompkins* and the *Weston* going to St. Louis. Wooded at 11 A. M., 9 miles above Jefferson City. Much difficulty in finding wood. We found some by chance, 4½ cords, below the large island 4 miles below Rocheport. We tried in vain to stem the current along the bluffs (*de monter les côtes*). At 10 P. M. I decided to put to shore on a little island in order not to consume our wood to no purpose. We had the good fortune to find some poles (*perches*) and I had 300 brought on board.

April 29. Saturday. Set out as soon as it was light,

which enabled us to take some advantage of the current. We succeeded in ascending. Wood still scarce and poor. Stopped at Boonville to take on Booker, a mulatto. Passed Glasgow at 7 o'clock. Great difficulty in doubling the point opposite the mouth of the Chariton. Camped on the island below Old Jefferson at 9:15 P. M. I send the yawl to look for some poles.

April 30. Sunday. Set out at 4 A. M. Current still strong, and to cap the climax the wind rises with incredible force. It is useless to try to keep on, and we put to shore 4 miles from our last camp, where, most fortunately, we find poles and dry mulberry, which permits us to fill the boat. At 1 P. M. the wind seems to moderate. We set out, and thanks to the wood which we had chopped and the poles we had taken, we get along very well. As the night is fine we continue our voyage, and at break of day are at the "*Coupé du Petits O.*" Took 5 cords of wood at Fine's. Passed Lexington at the dinner hour, where we were overtaken by the *John Auld*, which pushed along by.

May 1. Monday. Current still strong. Overlook the *John Auld* at camp, where we took 6 cords of wood and then lay to for the night at the head of the chute.

May 2. Tuesday. Set out before day. It seems that we are making better progress. In fact, since the water is falling the current is less strong. Stop at Owen's, where I take 12 barrels flour for Richardson. Stopped at Liberty Landing for dispatches from Mr. Laidlaw, and at Madame Chouteau's, where I find everything abandoned. Passed the bad place at the mouth of the Kansas river after sunset. The weather was so fine that I decided to run all night. At 6 A. M. we reached Leavenworth.

May 3. Wednesday. Set out at 8 A. M. We got along well, although often slowly. At 4 P. M. we reached the little island below village 24. In order to avoid a bad chute on the right we took the left hand channel and had the misfortune to run aground. We got ourselves clear once, but had the misfortune to get fast crosswise the channel. It

rained and blew in a frightful manner. We were compelled to stay where we were for the night in the hope of extricating ourselves in the morning.

May 4. Monday. We get clear, but by a false maneuver of the pilot we get aground again. Broke our large cable. Finally succeeded in getting off by shoving the stern around. The wind blows with incredible force, and we have to pass a place very dangerous on account of snags. We remain at the bank until 6 P. M., and finally camp at the wood yard above village 24.

May 5. Friday. Set out at day-break. Took 9 cords of wood 400 yards farther on. The strong wind annoys us much. Arrived at Robidoux [Blacksnake Hills or St. Joseph] at 1 P. M. and remained there an hour taking 5 cords of wood, 10 barrels lard, and some provisions. The wind increases. We enter the Nadowa chute. We have hard work to overcome the wind at Nadowa Island, and it is with difficulty that we arrive opposite our last year's encampment at 8 P. M.

May 6. Friday. The wind blows frightfully all night, with such violence that it seems as though the smoke-stacks would be blown down. It moderates a little at sun rise and we set out. We do not go far before it blows as strong as it did before. We land to cut some axe helves and get a little wood. It is one o'clock when we resume our journey, and in spite of wind and current we arrive at the Iowas at sunset, where I discharge the freight for the agent. We go on to Jeffrey's Point, where I take 10 cords of wood for which I give an order upon the House for \$20.

May 7. Sunday. We set out at day-break. Good wood, calm weather, and good progress. Passed the Grand Nemaha (Tapon Glaire) and stopped at Brown's at Nishnabotana, where I take 5 cords of wood that I do not pay for. (I forgot to say that we chopped some wood at the point above Tapon Glaire.) Passed the Little Nemaha, where we were obliged *de muler pour prendre à droite*. We lost

fully an hour. Finally we camped at a point on the left in view of Long Island.

May 8. Monday. We made good progress as far as to Beau Soleil Island, where we tried in vain to pass to the right along the prairie. It was necessary to take the old channel. Took $8\frac{1}{2}$ cords of wood at Hank Roberts. We found everything carried off by the water at Akays (?). Passed to the left *de l'Isle de l'Etroit*; passed the *Grand déboulis*. A little farther all the houses are demolished by the flood. Passed Table river. Stopped at McPherson's, where we bought and cut some wood, and finally went into camp opposite the mouth of the Weeping Water.

May 9. Tuesday. Passed Trudeau Island, Five Barrels Island, la Purré à Calumet, L Oeil de fer. I find no wood. I decide to have some cut a little further on. Tried the left hand channel, where the steamboat *Pirate* was lost, but could not get through. Tried the right hand, but it was shallow, *bouleversé* and full of sand bars. Found 5 cords of wood at Baptiste Le Clair's, which we took. Crossed to Abbadie's, where we put off his freight. Went on to *L'Issue*, where I put off freight for the sutler and for Captain Burgwin. Set out at 7 P. M. and camped above the bad sand bar near the marsh at Hart's cut-off at 9 P. M.

May 10. Wednesday. We progressed finely as far as Hart's Bluffs (côtes à Hart), where, at 7 A. M., we were summoned by an officer and four dragoons to land. I received a polite note from Captain Burgwin, informing me that his duty obliged him to make an inspection of the boat. We put ourselves to work immediately, while Mr. Audubon goes to call upon the Captain. They return in about two hours. I compel, as it were (en quelque sort), the officer to make the strictest possible inspection, but on the condition that he would do the same with the other traders. I have the men chop 15 cords of *liard vert* for the return trip. Heaven knows if it will be there when I get back. Resumed our journey at noon. Passed the house of Mr. Cabanne, Boyer river, Fort Manuel, and stopped for the night at the head of

Four-house Cut-off in the hope of finding wood there. I was cruelly disappointed. There is nothing but some elms there, which will be very difficult to split. I dread to use drift wood, but we shall have to come to it and will use rosin to make it burn.

May 11. Thursday. We soon find some drift wood, which we proceed to cut, since there is no other kind in this country. As I expected, it will burn only by the aid of rosin. Passed Soldier river. Proceeded slowly on account of the wood. Cut some more wood, which was worse than the other. It is almost impossible to keep going. We camp at 8:30 P. M. Tomorrow I hope to find some ash at Little Sioux river. The water rose 5 feet last night.

May 12. Friday. Scarcely had we started when we were obliged to lay to on account of the fog. Started again half an hour later. Found the difficult chute of the Little River of the Sioux stopped up, and the channel passing through the mud bars. Stopped at the end of the long straight stretch and chopped some ash. It is a good place for this kind of wood. Passed Pratt cut-off, Wood's bluffs, and camped at Blackbird. The water rose last night $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

May 13. Saturday. Just as we were on the point of starting a fog arose, which compelled us to remain in camp until 6:30 A. M. During this time I had some ash cut. Came on in good shape. Passed McClellan's Bluffs, where a cut-off has formed on the opposite side, which saves two or three miles. Chopped some *liard sec* below the prairie, where the Omaha village stands. Passed this prairie. Chopped some more wood about 3 miles below Sergeant's Bluffs. There is enough here for several years. Passed Setting Sun Bluffs. Camped at the mouth of the Big Sioux. It is wretched weather, rainy and windy. Last night the river stopped rising.

May 14. Sunday. We depart before day break by moonlight. The weather is uncertain all the morning. At 11:30 A. M. we stopped at the point where we arrested 4

deserters two years ago, and loaded the boat with dry wood. We push on at 1:30 P. M., but the wind, which had risen with incredible force, and the strength of the current (for the water commenced to rise again last night) made us give it up. I had the boat put to shore and set the men to cutting wood for the return trip. Instead of subsiding the wind increases. It is rather a hurricane. I am momentarily in fear that the smoke stacks will fall down. If this wind continues it will be a sleepless night (*nuit blanche*) for me.

May 15. Monday. The wind continues to blow as hard as yesterday. I set the men to cutting *bois de liard* again. At about 3 P. M. the wind seems to soften. In case it continues [to fall?] I will have the boilers pumped up so that we may be ready if it falls enough. We set out, but Great Heaven, how slow we go! Often we drift backward by the force of the current. We come as far as to the foot of the bluffs of Little Iowa river. Last night the river rose 14 inches, and I think that it is still rising. The *Omega* does all she can, but she is too heavily loaded to continue against a strong current like this, and the wind of this country, which is almost always strong.

May 16. Tuesday. The river rose 11 inches last night, and consequently we have a h—l of a current (*un courant d'enfers*). It is 11:30 A. M. when we reach the Vermillion houses. We set out again at 12:30, after having taken on some wood which I left there last year; but scarcely had we doubled the point of the island when the engineer announced the sad news that one of our boilers had burned out. We have to tie up, and I much fear that we shall be here a part of tomorrow. I set the men to cutting green *liard*, which will be of use, if not for the return trip, then for next year.

May 17. Wednesday. We remain here longer than I thought we should, for at the hour of this writing we have not finished [the repairs]. I have more wood cut and we have 50 to 60 cords. The water, which had risen last night, has commenced falling since dinner. May it so continue until we reach Fort Pierre.

May 18. Thursday. It takes us another day to complete our repairs. This is due to the difficulty of introducing rivets between the flues and the wall of the boiler. The water continues to fall rapidly — 3 feet since yesterday noon. Messrs. Laidlaw and Drips passed down at 8 o'clock with 4 Mackinaw boats. I write to the house and Mr. Audubon sends his dispatches.

May 19. Friday. We push on at day break. We find the current still strong in spite of the fall of water. Lost considerable time in passing the mouth of the Vermillion. It is necessary to sound, and we find only $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Cut 8 or 10 cords of wood at the first point on the left above the Vermillion. We find the channel which follows the bluffs below the *Petit Arc* extremely bad (there is considerable ash at this place). We cut some more dry *liard* at the beginning of the point below the *Perkins' woods*. We went into camp at the said woods.

May 20. Saturday. The water fell only $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches last night. We set out at break of day in spite of wind and rain, which hinder us a great deal. We arrive at noon at the ash point on the right going up, below Bonhomme Island. It is useless to try to chop any: the water has flooded everything. I am seriously embarrassed; when opposite the entrance to the Bonhomme channel we find enough dry *liard* to fill the boat. It is half past three. All day long the wind blows as it only can on the upper Missouri. Often we scarcely move at all. We pass to the left of the island. The water is shallow and swift. Finally we come to the first prairie to the right, where there is a good quantity of drift. Camped at 8:30.

May 21. Sunday. Set out at 3:15 A. M. The wind blew all night and is blowing still. We still see a good deal of drift wood, but we are not in need of any. Passed Manuel river and Bazille river. A little below we saw a band of cows [buffalo], something that has not been seen here for many years. At 10 A. M. we arrive at Fort Mitchell, where we cut dry wood from the pickets, houses and fences. If

the Indians or others do not burn this establishment, there will be enough dry wood there for two or three years. Resumed our voyage at 11 A. M., but the wind, which increases, retards us considerably. Passed Chouteau river. There the wind becomes almost irresistible. Nevertheless we enter the channel of Ponca Island, but at the head of the island, where the bluffs rise directly from the water (*trem-pent à l'eau*), we are forced to stop. I land on the island and go to cutting green wood, which will be of use on the return trip or next year. It is 3 P. M. Finally, toward 6 o'clock, the wind seems to moderate. We set out and follow those interminable bluffs, which *trem-pent à l'eau*, and go into camp on the opposite shore at the commencement of the prairie at 8:30 P. M. Last night the water fell only an inch and a half.

May 22. Monday. We push out at 3 A. M. Passed the town at 4:30. All along the bluffs (*côtes*), where it is shallow, we move slowly. Cut more wood at 6 A. M., some miles below Handy's. It is necessary to take wood wherever one can find it. In passing Handy's point a party of savages fired a volley at us, two shots of which passed through the men's cabin. Fortunately no one was hit. It is probably those rascally Santees; no one else would be capable of such an attack. We had much difficulty in passing the point of oaks opposite the river Pratte. We had to sound, and found only 4 feet large. During this time I had some oak wood cut, poor fuel for steam. Finally we lay to at 8 P. M. at Little Cedar Island. It will be necessary to chop some wood in the morning, notwithstanding that we have commenced this evening.

May 23. Tuesday. After cutting some wood we set out at 5:30 A. M. Cedar Island is no longer worth the trouble of stopping there, since it is impracticable to land where the best wood is. Took the same route as last year; passed to the right of Snag Island (*Isle aux Chicots*). Took on board the hunters whom I sent out last night. Passed the Three Islands safely, but opposite the Bijoux

Hills at Désiré Island I plunge into the sand bars and soon we are aground athwart the current. Our spars break and it is dark before Durack returns with others. We will begin again tomorrow morning. The heat has been unsupportable all day. Thermometer 92°.

May 24. Wednesday. We find the boat in the morning pretty much in the same situation. We set at work immediately and are just about to get afloat again when one of the spars breaks, and we are obliged to send 2 miles to look for another on an island where they are very scarce. It is 10 A. M. and the yawl has not yet returned. We met La Charité, who is descending the river in a skin canoe with goods for the Poncas and brings me a letter from Mr. Honoré Picotte. The yawl returns at last and we succeed in extricating ourselves, but we go aground again, again get off, and after having sounded again find only one passage and that a doubtful one. We lurch and break one of our rudders, but 10 minutes afterward we are afloat. We put to shore to mend the rudder, and meanwhile I have some wood cut from drift. At 6 P. M. we resume our journey and come to the head of the Bijoux Hills before night, where I send out men to chop a little wood. The river continues to fall slowly. The wind has changed to the N. W., and it has turned cold.

May 25. Thursday. We did not get off until 6 A. M. because I had a full load of dry wood taken on. The wind rises with rain and the weather is frightful. We are obliged to stop and sound before we reach John's Bluffs. We run with difficulty on 4 feet of water. The river has fallen considerably and in many places we find no more water than we have to have. Passed White river. At American river (*Rivière des Américains*) we spend a good deal of time in sounding. At the head of the channel at Cedar Island we find no way out. Nevertheless, Désiré, whom I send to sound, reports 4.4 feet. We shall try it tomorrow morning.

May 26. Friday. We are a little late in starting, for it is very necessary to see clearly before leaving the channel.

Sent out the yawl. Found the same depth again, 4ft. 4 inches. Passed through. Stopped at the foot of the bluffs below Fort Lookout, where we cut more cedar, which we have to go a good way for. We had much trouble at two places in passing Fort Lookout point. We passed to the right of Deslaurier's Island for the first time. I believe that the [good] water was that way last year, but it did not suit Francis [pilot] to try it, and I was compelled to lighten the boat of her whole cargo. At the head of the chute we had to sound, and found just enough water to pass. If we drew 4 inches more we should frequently have had to lighten half the cargo. Much trouble in passing along the bluffs below the Great Bend. Put ashore Mr. Audubon, his companions, and 3 men, who will camp on the other side of the Bend and wait for us there. Chopped more drift wood and camped at 8:15 at the first bluffs on the right going up. I forgot to say that I have sent 3 men express to Fort Pierre with papers for that establishment.

May 27. Saturday. Scarcely have we set out when we consumed two hours making a crossing. A little farther it looks for a moment as if we should be obliged to lighten the cargo a half (it was raining in torrents), but we have the good luck to get through. Passed the chain of rocks at dinner time, and at 3 P. M. arrived at the head of the Great Bend, where I have some wood cut, and Mr. Audubon and companions return on board. We try in vain to pass to the right of the island below the mouth of Medicine river. We have to return and take the small channel to the left. There is a good deal of good cedar wood at the entrance and if the channel remains there it will be a good place to get wood. Camped near the head of the channel at 8:30 P. M.

May 28. Sunday. As far as to the mouth of the Medicine river there is good wood. We have much difficulty to the point where we broke our rudder last year. We get along very well after that. I do not cut any wood at the bluffs below the Grand Cedar Island, because I expect to find some where I cut some last year opposite La Chapelle

Island. But a large sand bar has formed there. I am compelled to stop in sight of Simeneau Island at 1:30 P. M. to cut some poor wood. Resumed our voyage at 2:15. We got along well to Ebbitt's house, where I take on 30 packs of robes and Major Hamilton. At the head of Simeneau Island there is not enough water, only 3 feet large. To take off half the cargo will not be enough. I therefore decide to await until tomorrow morning. Perhaps some changes will take place.

May 29. Monday. I send out to sound the channel. No more water than yesterday, but appearances are more favorable. Where there was no water yesterday we find 3 feet 6 inches. The gentlemen from Fort George pay us a visit and take dinner with us.

May 30. Tuesday. In one place we find 4 feet. In the other 3 feet 10 inches. We set to work and it is 5 P. M. before we have passed those two cursed bars. We were obliged to send the yawl for wood. Messrs. Picotte, Char-don, and several others arrive from the fort [Pierre]. Camped at 8 P. M. opposite Fleury Island, where we loaded up with dry wood. Fleury, who came on board, tells me that the river has risen 7 inches since noon.

May 31. Wednesday. It seems that we may not be able to reach the fort [Pierre], for we shall not be able to pass along the small island below the fort. We resolve to try the small channel to the left, but after a long trial we are convinced that it is impossible. I send to the fort for the ferry boat and a Mackinaw boat, and having transferred some lead and tobacco we are able to pass up the right of the island. We reach the fort at 3 P. M. The unloading of the freight for this post is finished at sundown.

June 1. Thursday. I remain at the fort a part of the forenoon on account of business. Write to the House and to Durack with my instructions concerning the *Trapper*. Crossed at 11 A. M. Took on some articles I had need of. Gave some provisions to Durack for his journey. Cut 2 cords of drift wood and stopped for the night above old

Fort George at 9:30 P. M. (There is a good deal of drift wood at the old dirt village.)

June 2. Friday. We set out at 3 A. M. Passed the Big Cheyenne, the island at Ash point, to the left of Assiniboine Island, where we could not land and consequently could not take on the wood which I left there last year. Stopped five times to take on drift wood. Passed to the left of Little Cheyenne Island and camped about 2 miles below the Little Cheyenne at 8:45 P. M.

June 3. Saturday. The wind blows violently all night and has not stopped when we set out. We try to pass to the left of Touchon Kaksah, but are obliged to go back about 2 miles and take the right hand channel, and we pass to the head of a small willow island. We come along very well, although there are some bad places. It is not surprising for we are today in the worst part of the Missouri. Stopped at the willow island below the mouth of the Moreau at 10 A. M. and took on some very poor drift wood, but there is no other. We try the right hand of Prele Island, where we went down last year, but we find no way out. We go back and take the left hand channel, where we lost 2 days last year, and find good water. Passed Grand river, where I thought I could land and cut up an old house for wood, but we could not get in there. Passed the rampart and landed opposite the little island below the old Aricara village. The weather is threatening, and I believe a bad storm is on. I have scarcely a cord of wood for the start tomorrow morning, but I hope I have enough to reach the ash point below the old village. It is 8:30 P. M.

June 4. Sunday. We get a late start on account of our bad wood. Stopped a little farther on at Ash point below the old Aricara village. Stopped again at La Chapelle Point where we take in the remains of the Primeau houses. Passed *La Bourbeuse*, Fort Manuel, and camped at Primeau's fort a little below Beaver river, where we load up with cord wood, leaving some for the return trip. I note that this side of the *Bourbeuse*, and even below there is a

good deal of drift wood. All day we have had a north wind which has delayed us a good deal. But for that we should have made a much better day.

June 5. Monday. We have just enough water at the second Beaver river crossing. Passed Cannon Ball river, Mitchell's wintering house, Bouis' wintering house, where we fill the boat with worthless wood, which makes me curse all the rest of the day. It is only by the aid of rosin that we can raise barely enough steam to keep us moving very slowly. I have left several cords of the same wood for the down trip. Passed Apple river, the place where the *Assiniboine* burned, and finally went into camp at 9:20 P. M., at the beginning of Heart River Point. We have passed today a good deal of drift wood between and considerably below Bouis' wintering ground. If the water does not carry it off between now and next year it will be very easy to get. The water seems to be rising rapidly all day. It rose two inches last night.

I forgot to say that we were not able to land opposite the mouth of the *Rivière au Berchet*, where I had chopped some oak wood last year. It is necessary therefore to go there again, although the report is that the Indians have burned a part of it.

June 6. Tuesday. We set out at day break. We lose a good deal of time in finding the channel a little above the mouth of Heart river. It is 9 A. M. when we get clear. We meet Kipp with four barges at the Square Buttes. He joins us. I write to St. Louis by the barges, care Mr. Burguiere. Passed the Square Buttes, where we cut some ash wood. Camp at the point where the Assiniboines met us two years ago. Filled the boat with poor ash wood, which Mr. Chardon had cut for us. All day the weather has been miserable, rain and an east wind.

July 7. Wednesday. Bad weather continues all night. We reach Fort Clark early. We are much delayed in getting the freight ashore, for it rains continually. The wind rises with such force that I decide to remain here all day.

Give a feast to the Aricaras and get everything ready to start at daybreak tomorrow.

June 8. Thursday. We are off at 2:45 A. M. We pass safely the Grosventre bar because the water is up; otherwise I think we should have had a hard time of it there. Stopped with these Indians and lose an hour in being polite to them. Passed the Great Rock. Passed the wintering ground of the Aricaras last year, which is situated a little below Dancing Bear, where there are three wagons which I must take to Fort Clark on my way down. At the same time we can cut some wood from the lodges and houses. Camped a little above the wintering ground at 8 P. M. I have the boat loaded with ash and dry *liard*. Three times today we have cut *bois de bature*. The river continues to rise. It is high enough for a good down trip.

June 9. Friday. We set out again at the same hour. Passed Dancing Bear an hour later. This point has *deboulée* a good deal and it will be of use to cut wood there for the down trip. Passed without difficulty the place which used to be so bad. The channel has improved greatly. Passed the mouth of the Little Missouri and all the bad places below and above the river without difficulty. Stopped at the prairie a little below the foot of the Great Bend to pack our cylinder. During this time we kill a cow. We pass to the left of the little island. In passing the chute our yawl is considerably damaged. We land for a moment to put it on deck and during this time I have some *bois de bature* cut. We get ourselves entangled in a channel *tout le long de terre*, which has no outlet. We have to back out and follow the island. We do not go far along the bluffs *qui trempent à l'eau*, when we run into the same difficulty and have to withdraw. We lie to finally at 10:30 P. M. at the place where we cut wood every year. I will have the boat loaded tomorrow morning.

June 10. Saturday. We cut wood until 4:30 A. M. Stopped a moment and killed two bulls. Passed the Little Knife river at 12 o'clock. A little farther we cut some dry

liard. Passed the chain all right. Met four lodges of Assiniboines at the beginning of White River Point. Again we cut a good lot of dry *liard*, little more than we cut last year, at the upper end of the point. Met the same Indians again at 7 P. M. Camped near the Butte au Curé at 8:45 P. M. Strong wind and rain.

June 11. Sunday. We start a little late on account of bad weather. Cut some ash wood at 9:30. Continued our journey at 11 o'clock. It blows strong all day and at times we scarcely move. Do our best we cannot reach the Muddy. We camp at 9 P. M. at the foot of the bluffs below that river. The water has fallen a little since day before yesterday.

June 12. Monday. The water fell last night about three inches. We set out at 3:15 A. M. and soon pass the Muddy. Stopped to cut a little dry wood. We have no more. Stopped again at 11 A. M. at the place where we usually cut wood. We fill the boat with dry *liard*. I am indeed afraid that we shall not reach [the fort] this evening. Wind strong and frequent rain. Finally we start at 12:45. We make but slow progress on account of wind and current. Passed Fort Mortimer opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone, and reached Fort Union at sunset. The water continues to fall.

June 13. Tuesday. We discharged the freight for the fort in a short time, made some repairs, and spent the rest of the day at the fort. The water is still falling, but not fast.

June 14. Wednesday. It was after breakfast when we set out [on the return trip]. Stopped a little way down and took on enough wood, if we do not run aground, to carry us to Fort Clark. It is 9:30 A. M. when we pass the mouth of the Yellowstone. Made good progress the rest of the day. Stopped for the night at 8:15 a little below the mouth of Knife river. The water continued to fall last night.

June 15. Thursday. As I anticipated we had a good

deal of trouble at the head of the island at Little Knife river. Run aground, worked a long while, and did not get off till noon. We ran the Great Bend without difficulty until we reached the island at the foot, where we ran hard aground again and did not get off until sunset. Camped eight or ten miles farther down. Tomorrow will be another bad day. I forgot to say that at midnight there came on board a band of Assiniboinés who, in my inmost soul, I would like to send to the devil. I had to pass the rest of the night with them, and to take ten of them along with us as far as to the Gros-ventres.

June 16. Friday. Contrary to my expectations we did not ground at the mouth of the Little Missouri. Stopped opposite Dancing Bear, where I took on several wagons for Fort Clark and also some good dry wood from Chardon's houses. Farther down we stopped at an old village where there was some more good wood. A little farther down we had to cast anchor because of a break of a valve stem. We came slowly to the bank and resume our voyage at 5 P. M. Put off the Assiniboinés at the Grosventres. We soon came to the bad sand bar. We looked for a channel a long while without finding a sure one. It being already late and a prospect of bad weather, I put to shore a little below the mouth of Knife river. Tomorrow morning we must sound. River stationary last night.

June 17. Saturday. We sound the channel—scarcely enough water, but by aid of the spars we force ourselves over the bar. We are soon at the Mandans, where I take on board 500 odd packs. Set out at 2:30, make good progress. Took the rest of the wood that Chardon had had cut; passed Heart river after sunset; struck the bar but had the good luck to back off. Camped at the same place where we camped on our way up on the 5th. River stationary.

June 18. Sunday. Started a little late. Passed Cannon Ball river. Killed a cow and a bull. Wooded at Beaver river. I left four cords which were too far to go after, and we have enough anyway, and the heat is insupportable.

In backing up we scuttled our yawl. Ran aground at the same place, but got off soon. Put to the bank a moment. After that we got along all right. Camped a little above Prêle Island, where we remained two days last year waiting for the channel to cut out. The river is still stationary.

June 19. Monday. This has been a day of running aground and of fatigue, but we expected it. We find all the channels changed. Passed the Moreau and ran aground a little below. Aground again opposite Touchon Kaksä. Stopped at the bluffs opposite the Little Cheyenne, where we cut a little cedar, but set out again three-quarters of an hour later. Stopped at Assiniboine Island at 6:30 P. M., where I have the yawl fetch the wood which I left there last year. The heat is extremely oppressive today. The water does not fall any yet. As I am writing a hurricane rises accompanied with thunder and rain, lasting much of the night. It already commences to turn cold.

June 20. Tuesday. It is still blowing too hard this morning to set out, but at 5 A. M. the wind seems to fall a little. I have the fire lighted. As nearly as I can judge by the water marks the river has risen four inches. Passed the island at Ash point, where there is a bad place. We soon reach the Big Cheyenne. We have much trouble at the crossing and more at the place where we generally cut cedar. The weather is so bad that I stop and go to cutting wood. I send and have the channel sounded, which takes a long while on account of the wind. Finally we get by. Stopped at 7 P. M. a little above the dirt village, where we gathered all the drift wood we could find. Finished work at 8:30. All day we have had wind and rain. The river still seems to be rising.

June 21. Wednesday. We soon reach the fort [Pierre]. I learn with pleasure that the *Trapper* left nine days ago. The water rose last night and is still rising. I therefore wait all day at the fort. It is frightful weather all day.

June 22. Thursday. Set out a little late. Arrived at

the farm, where we take on wood which is all soaked. It is not surprising, for it has rained and blown ever since we left Fort Clark. Resumed our voyage at 8 o'clock. A little trouble below the farm and a little above Lachappelle Island (always a bad place) passed Frederick with six barges and camped at foot of the bluffs below White river. The wind is still high. The river stopped rising last night.

June 23. Friday. A little late in starting again. But that is on account of the gloomy weather which we have had for some time. Today it has turned out pleasant. Made good progress all day. We take more of the cut wood on Ponca Island. It is too far to carry it. We stop below Manuel river, where we cut up some good drift wood. There is a good deal of it from the head of Bonhomme Island to Manuel river, and it will be a good resource for next year. Camped at the point above Vermillion. I would much have preferred to have reached the place where we cut some wood on the way up, but it is too late and here we are in the land of snags. The river rose an inch last night.

June 24. Saturday. We reach a wood pile in a little while. Wooded quickly. Stopped at the Vermillion houses where the channel is so full of snags that we cannot get to the bank. I land with the yawl. As Paschal has not the means of sending the packs to me—all his horses having been stolen and one man killed by those brigand Santes, probably the same who fired on us on our way up—I bring four packs in the yawl and at 10 A. M. we set out. I do not stop where we have some wood cut below Little Iowa river, because we have enough to take us to Hart's bluffs. We came along finely and camped at Little Sioux river where the mosquitoes eat us up. The weather threatens wind and rain.

June 25. Sunday. We came along very well. Stopped at the cut-off at Hart's bluffs, where we take on the rest of the wood that we cut on our way up. Stopped at Hardin's and at Sarpy's, where we met the *Oceana*. We remained

some time and put off 11 barrels of lard and two of biscuit. Took some wood from opposite Baptiste Leclair's. Stop again at Arcot's, where we take three cords that I do not pay for. We came along very well until in sight of the narrows, when our packing blows out. We can scarcely reach the bank, being in a place full of snags. It is dark when we stop.

June 26. Monday. We have a good deal of trouble in extricating ourselves from the obstructions in which our wheels are buried. It is necessary to repair the arms. The sun is already high when we set out. Stopped at Brown's and took five cords of wood which I do not pay for. Stopped at Robidoux, where I take on six cords more, which I do not pay for *non plus à* \$1.50. Finally we camped at Leavenworth. Met the steamboat *Admiral* at Weston.

June 27. Tuesday. Set out as usual. Stopped at Madame Chouteau's. Took wood at Sharp's; also at the chute of Mammy's wood yard. Camp at Old Jefferson, where we take three cords of wood to fill the boat.

June 28. Wednesday. In spite of wind and rain we make good progress. Took five cords at Bear river. Continued our journey and camped at night opposite St. Charles where we took four cords of wood at Chauvain's.

June 29. Thursday. Reached St. Louis in time for breakfast.

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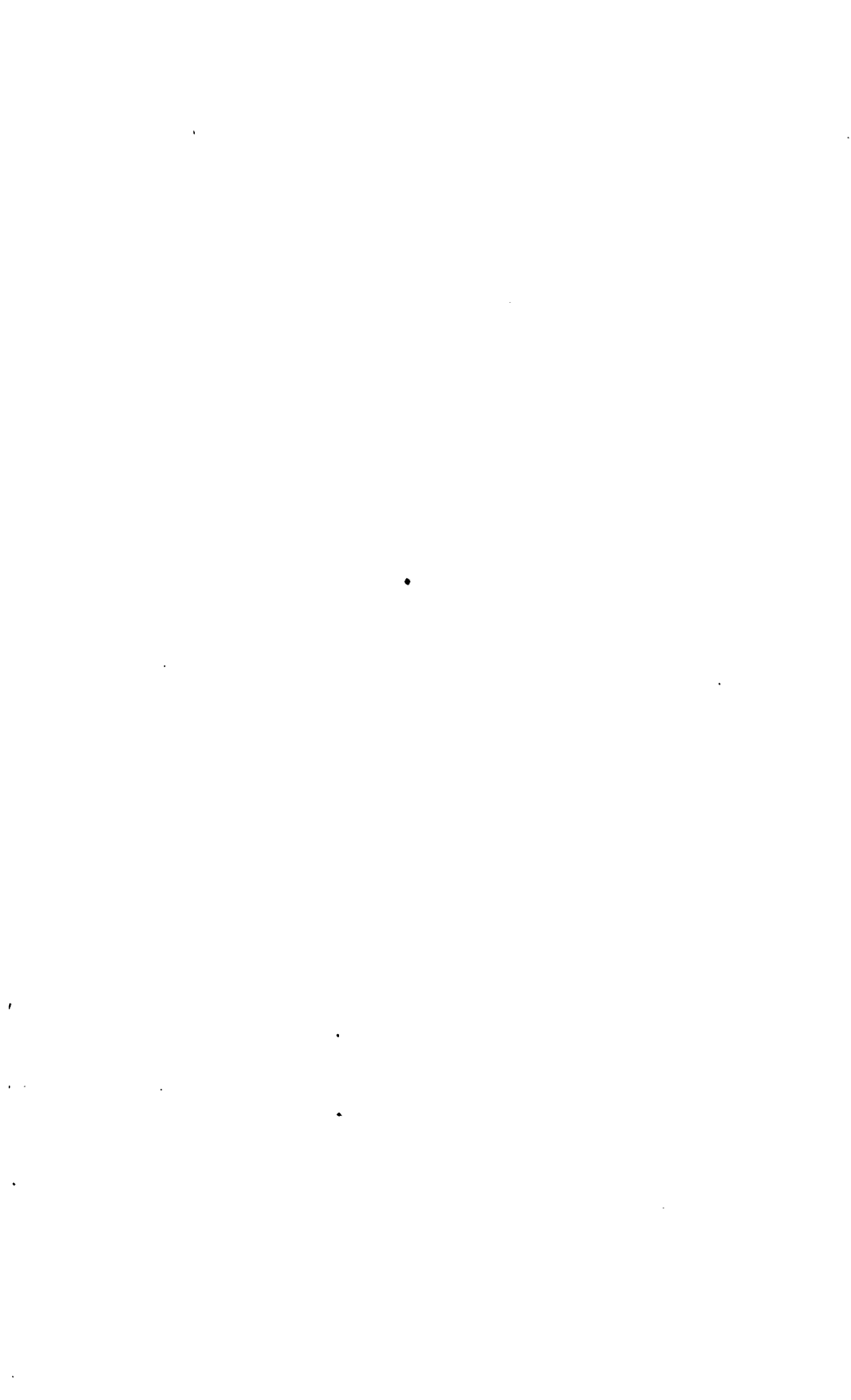
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